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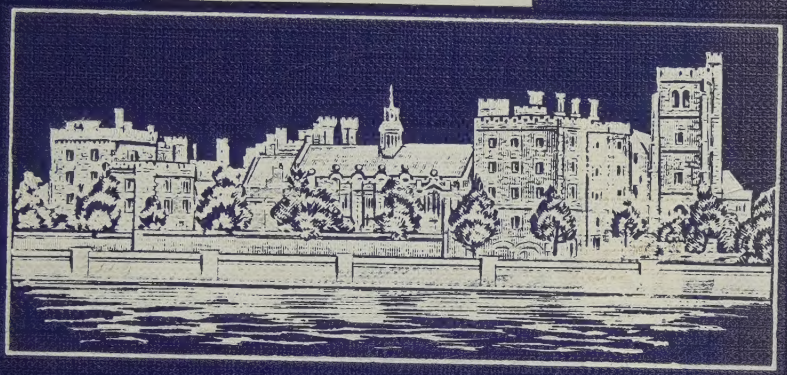

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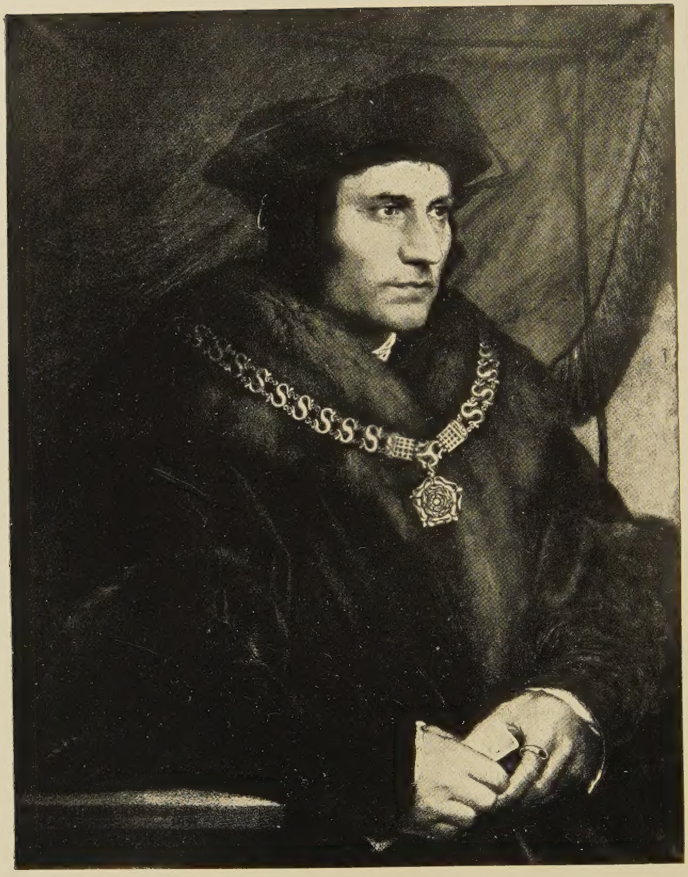

SIR THOMAS MORE.

From the portrait by Holbein in the possession of Edward Huth, Esq.

ENGLISH EPISCOPAL PALACES

(PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY)

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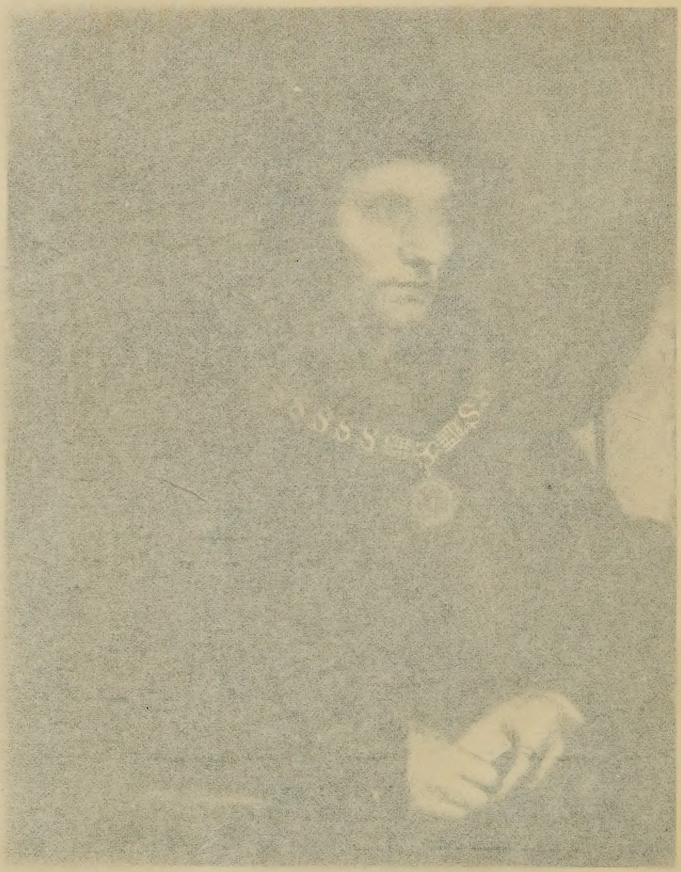

ENGLISH EPISCOPAL PALACES

(PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY)

CONTRIBUTED BY

CAROLINE C. MOREWOOD, VALENTINA HAWTREY, LILIAN J. REDSTONE, HENRIETTA L. E. GARBETT, CHARLOTTE M. CALTHROP, EVELINE M. WOODCOCK

EDITED BY

R. S. RAIT

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Editor's Note

GREAT books have a way of producing smaller ones; and these sketches of the history of the Episcopal Palaces of the Southern Province have been inspired by work done for the "Victoria History of the Counties of England." The plan and the scope of that great work prevents its writers from availing themselves of much of the interesting material which their researches discover. The authors of this book have taken the opportunity of presenting in popular form the results of investigation into the lighter side of history. The editor is responsible for the general plan of the book, but he has left his contributors to choose their own methods of telling the stories entrusted to them. He hopes and believes that the result has been to produce a volume of varied interest which will appeal to all who wish to know about the life of the Church and its great dignitaries, and about the houses in which its bishops have lived. The editor and his contributors wish to offer their thanks to the guardians of episcopal palaces and documents for access to both, and to express their indebtedness to Mr. William Page, editor of the Victoria County History.

R. S. R.

New College, Oxford.
November, 1909.

Contents

		PAGE
INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.	Caroline C. Morewood .	1
THE PALACE OF LAMBETH.	Valentina Hawtrey .	51
THE PALACE OF FULHAM.	Valentina Hawtrey .	90
FARNHAM CASTLE.	Lilian J. Redstone . .	123
THE OLD PALACE OF LINCOLN.	Henrietta L. E. Garbett	155
THE PALACE OF NORWICH.	Charlotte M. Calthrop .	209
THE PALACE OF HEREFORD.	Henrietta L. E. Garbett	255
THE PALACE OF WELLS.	Eveline M. Woodcock .	287
INDEX		327

List of Illustrations

SIR THOMAS MORE	*Frontispiece*
HENRY CHICHELE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY .	*Facing p.* 58
WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY .	„ 62
RICHARD BANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY .	„ 78
EDMUND BONNER, BISHOP OF LONDON	„ 98
WILLIAM JUXON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY .	„ 114
BEILBY PORTEUS, BISHOP OF LONDON	„ 120
WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER .	„ 134
JOHN WILLIAMS, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK	„ 190
SIR THOMAS GOOCH, BISHOP OF ELY	„ 248
DR. BATHURST, BISHOP OF NORWICH	„ 250
EDWARD STANLEY, BISHOP OF NORWICH . . .	„ 252
PHILIP BISSE, BISHOP OF HEREFORD	„ 284
ARTHUR LAKE, BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS .	„ 314
THOMAS KEN, BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS . .	„ 320

Introductory Chapter

IN a work of this kind it would be obviously impossible to present a complete account of all the episcopal palaces in the Province of Canterbury, and in an Introductory Chapter we propose to offer a brief sketch of the residences, whose history is not related elsewhere in the present volume. The history of these buildings is necessarily bound up with those who built and inhabited them. The architects have left the stamp of their personalities on the stones, which are in many cases the only trace we have of these characters of the past. Their public acts had the world for an audience, but the *real* men with their motives and ambitions are but shadowy phantoms too often shrouded in the mists of religious controversy. One wishes there were more of these traces, but unfortunately many of the palaces shared the fate of other Church property during the Civil Wars, and were swept away in the storms of fanatical zeal.

More than half the bishoprics in England are of Saxon foundation, and there is little or no record of the bishops' houses; but we can easily picture the simple wooden structures which would supply all the needs of these saintly fathers of the Church. Their ambitions were for spiritual riches, and they had little esteem for the perishable goods of this world, the care of which would only distract them from the work of their Master.

As time went on, bringing increased wealth and power, the episcopal residences naturally underwent great changes. It was necessary for the bishop-baron to have a castle large enough to accommodate his armed retainers, and strong enough to withstand the attacks of hostile neighbours.

Then again his position as dispenser of justice necessitated a large hall in which cases could be tried, as well as a prison where the guilty paid the penalty for their misdoings.

The position of the bishops in the Great Council, and afterwards in Parliament, and the prominent part they often played in State affairs rendered it necessary to provide them with London houses, as well as various manors *en route* where they could break their journey. Travelling was no easy matter in those days, and we are told that the Bishop of Worcester spent five days on the journey from London to the seat of his diocese.

Very little material change was effected in the arrangement of the bishoprics until the Reformation, when Henry VIII., whose conscience, it is to be hoped, was sometimes disturbed at the destruction of so many religious houses, wished to make amends by endowing new bishoprics out of the revenues of the dissolved monasteries.

In the Province of Canterbury he raised to the dignity of bishoprics, Gloucester, Bristol, Westminster (afterwards suppressed by Edward VI.), Peterborough, and Oxford. In each of these cases, the abbot who had surrendered his house to the king, was installed as bishop—his house, of course, becoming the episcopal palace.

From this time onward, the various sees have retained their former dimensions, until the enormous increase in the population of recent years necessitated the formation of new

dioceses. In 1836 the sees of Gloucester and Bristol were united, although once more separated in 1897. Five new bishoprics have been formed since 1877, namely, St. Albans, Truro, Southwell, Birmingham, and Southwark.

We find therefore that bishoprics and episcopal residences fall naturally into four groups: (i.) those of Saxon foundation; (ii.) those of Norman origin; (iii.) those founded by Henry VIII.; and (iv.) those formed within the last fifty years. We proceed to deal with each in turn.

Canterbury

On the west side of the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral may still be seen an old gate-house, all that now remains of the archbishop's palace; close to this gate-house is an arched entrance, through which Thomas Becket had just passed when he was attacked by his murderers. In a garden near are remains of pillars and arches, probably once forming part of the great hall, so often mentioned in history. It was begun by Archbishop Hubert, about 1200, and finished by Langton. It was the scene of many a noble feast: notably at the time of the translation of the body of St. Thomas of Canterbury, when crowds of devoted pilgrims were entertained by the Archbishop. The expense of this feast, as well as the building of the hall, laid a heavy debt on the see, which was not cleared till Archbishop Boniface's time. He is said to have sorrowfully remarked: "My predecessors built this hall at great expense; they did well indeed, but they laid out no money except what they borrowed; *I* seem to be the builder, because I pay their debts."

In this hall Edward I., after his marriage in the cathedral with Catherine in 1299, kept the nuptial feast. Two hundred years later Archbishop Warham entertained the

Emperor Charles V., and his mother, Queen of Aragon, as well as Henry VIII. It evidently shared the fate of so much Church property at the time of the Dissolution, but was rebuilt by Archbishop Parker in 1572, who was honoured by a visit from Queen Elizabeth in 1575. Its magnificence was doomed, and fell a victim to the ruthless fanaticism of Cromwell's followers. The arms of Archbishop Parker and the date 1572 may still be seen engraved on chimney-pieces and windows in neighbouring houses. The site has since been leased out, and turned into tenements. The centre once formed a bowling-green, and afterwards a timber-yard.

Although the palaces of Canterbury and Lambeth were their state abodes, the archbishops had many other palaces and manors. Of these the best known are, perhaps, Mayfield, Croydon, Addington and Otford. Mayfield belonged to the archbishops from the earliest times, and the first house is said to have been built by St. Dunstan. It was certainly a favourite place of residence with succeeding archbishops, who loved to retire there and rest from the laborious duties of their state. It was finally alienated by Cranmer in 1535, and has since fallen into decay.

Of all the archiepiscopal palaces, none is so well known as the beautiful palace at Croydon. This manor had belonged to the archbishops since the days of Lanfranc, and though it is uncertain when a house was first erected, we know one existed in 1273, in the time of Archbishop Kilwardy, who dates several mandates from Croydon. The five succeeding archbishops also spent much of their time in this palace, and added considerably to its size and beauty.

Archbishop Courtney received the pall in the great hall in

1382, and either he or his successor, Arundell, built the guard-chamber. The whole palace was repaired by Archbishop Stafford, who made Lambeth and Croydon his chief places of residence. Cranmer, too, was very fond of the place, and many bishops were consecrated by him in the adjoining chapel. So beautiful and complete was this residence that Queen Elizabeth visited it more than once, and on one occasion remained there for seven days.

The palace was still more improved by Archbishop Laud, at whose death it was sold to Sir William Brereton. He had little appreciation for its stately beauty, and converted the chapel into a kitchen.

At the Restoration it came into the hands of Archbishop Juxon, who did much towards restoring it to its former splendour. Archbishop Wake (1715) made it a summer residence, and rebuilt the great gallery leading to the garden. Dr. Herring also completely repaired and furnished the palace in 1747, and was the last primate who lived there. Soon afterwards it was allowed to become very dilapidated, and an Act of Parliament was passed for its sale. It has now been converted into a girls' school.

When Croydon was no longer available as a summer residence, the Archbishop Manners-Sutton bought Addington in 1808. It was considerably improved by Dr. Howley, who added a chapel and library. It has, however, since been disposed of.

Otford was also a very favourite abode of the arcbishops, several mandates and letters being dated there. Here they enjoyed the seclusion of two large parks, and had the right of free-warren. Thomas Becket appears to have been the first to live here, and finding the supply of water insufficient, he is said to have struck the ground with his

staff, and the spring of water which gushed up, still bears the name of St. Thomas's Well. Here also Archbishop Winchelsea died in 1313. A great part of this mansion was rebuilt by Archbishop Deane in the reign of Henry VIII. But Warham, his successor, had ideals of episcopal dignity which it did not satisfy; he therefore demolished the whole structure except the chapel and hall, building a veritable palace at a cost of £33,000. Archbishop Cranmer, who succeeded Warham, appears to have felt that this magnificent property was an over-weighty burden, and that his head would rest more securely in a humbler dwelling; accordingly he passed it over to Henry VIII. It remained Crown property until James I. granted the site, together with the greater park of seven hundred acres, to Sir Thomas Smith. A vast heap of rubbish is all that now remains of this palace, but part of the wall and two towers of the outer court still give some slight idea of its former magnificence.

Rochester

The see of Rochester is the smallest in the kingdom although one of the earliest foundation. There is no mention of any episcopal house till the time of the saintly Gundulph. He was a monk in the Benedictine monastery at Bec in Normandy, and was elected bishop in 1077 through Lanfranc's influence. He turned the secular priests out of their monastery at Rochester, and filled it with Benedictines. He probably built a house for himself at the same time that he rebuilt the church and added to the priory. He appears always to have loved his Benedictine home, and when Archbishop Lanfranc restored to the see many manors and lands formerly confiscated, Gundulph granted most of them to the priory, greatly impoverishing the see; and succeeding

bishops were constantly disputing with the monks their right to certain lands.

Gundulph was, at heart, always more of a Benedictine than a bishop, and when he felt his end drawing near, he would not die as a bishop in his palace, but as a monk amongst monks, in a lower place. So his servants carried him into the Church of St. Andrew, where he prayed long and earnestly for himself and his beloved monastery, and when his strength was exhausted, they took him into the monks' infirmary, where he died amongst his spiritual children in 1107. The church begun by him was finished in the time of Bishop John, about 1130. The dedication was attended by the king and many nobles and clergy, who no doubt were entertained at the bishop's palace. While the feasting was still in progress, fire broke out, almost destroying the city, and doing considerable damage to the church. The priory also was reduced to such a state that the monks were obliged to disperse until the damage was repaired. That the bishop's house shared the same fate seems probable, for we are told that Gilbert de Glanville, who was consecrated in 1185, rebuilt the palace at Rochester, as well as a house at Lambeth. The dispute, which had long been smouldering between the bishop and the monks, was fanned into a blaze by this tyrannical prelate, who threw himself heart and soul into the contest. He succeeded in regaining most of the possessions which Gundulph had alienated, but not without a struggle on the part of the monks who were reduced to the extreme necessity of melting down and coining the silver shrine of St. Paulinus. Having got what he wanted he appears to have been willing to make some reparation, and built a new cloister for the monks, providing them also

with an organ, and various ornaments and books. He died in 1214, and earned the epithet of a "confounder amongst founders."

The next bishop who turned his attention to building was Hamo de Hethe, Prior of Rochester. The see had been vacant for two years, owing to a dispute about the election; however, the Pope's consent was at last obtained, and Hamo went to Avignon to be consecrated in 1319. He had many difficulties to contend with during the first years of his episcopate, not only the heavy expenses incurred by the suit and journey, but his palace and other manor houses were practically uninhabitable, and had been despoiled of their live stock and agricultural implements, and even of the furniture. Accordingly he retired to some secluded spot, his wants being supplied by his clergy, who voluntarily gave up a small portion of their stipends to support their bishop. As soon as his debts were paid he set to work to rebuild his palace and manor houses. At Halling he rebuilt the hall, and improved the chapel and dining-room; he spent the Lent of 1322 in this house, and passed on to Trottescliffe, where he celebrated Easter. The latter had belonged to the bishopric since the days of King Offa, and though it was wrested from them during the Danish wars, was restored by Lanfranc to Gundulph, who kept it mainly to supply his table with poultry, eggs, and other farm produce.

Hamo de Hethe spent a year at Trottescliffe with the object, apparently, of superintending the building operations. He added a dining-room for himself and one for his clerks, as well as a large kitchen, bake-house, and cow-house, surrounding the whole with walls. This palace remained in the hands of the bishops of Rochester till the Reformation, when it was leased out to various tenants.

It was during Hamo de Hethe's episcopate that England was visited by the plague; it was particularly violent in Kent, and the bishop lost most of his chaplains and domestics. The parish priests in his diocese fell victims to this frightful scourge, their places often being filled by illiterate men, hurriedly ordained, with but a superficial knowledge of the Faith they professed to teach. The bishop endeared himself still more to his people by his devotion during this sad time. He went amongst the stricken people, helping the dying and burying the dead, and doing all in his power to relieve the suffering.

Worn out with his labours, towards the end of his life, he begged the Pope to relieve him of his episcopal duties. This request was evidently not granted, for he died at his palace three years afterwards, in 1352.

During the next hundred years there is little mention of the palace, until the time of Bishop Lowe, who evidently rebuilt it, as one of his letters is dated from the *new* palace of Rochester in 1459. The next six bishops were all translated to other sees, and the palace was much neglected when John Fisher inhabited it. Erasmus of Rotterdam paid him a visit in 1524, and complains of the bishop's disregard to his health. He adds that the walls of the library were so thin that the air came in through the crevices, that it was neither wainscotted nor floored with wood, and had only a brick pavement. The money he grudged spending on his own personal comforts he gave liberally to St. John's College, which he furnished with a magnificent library. He was far beyond his age in learning, and the sanctity of his life has gained for him the respect and admiration of all. He warmly opposed the divorce of Katherine of Aragon, and was eventually sent to the Tower

with Sir Thomas More. The Pope rewarded his fidelity by raising him to the dignity of a cardinal, which probably hastened his end. He was beheaded when nearly eighty years old, and his head set on London Bridge. He could never be induced to change his bishopric for a better one, and often said that his church was his wife, and he would never part with her because she was poor. He was the last to live at the Rochester Palace, which was let for a term of years, and so neglected that at the time of the Commonwealth survey it was valued at £12 13s. 4*d*.

The succeeding bishops lived at Bromley, which had been in the possession of the see since the eighth century. This old palace was probably built about 1100, and has undergone many alterations. During the Commonwealth it was granted away from the see, but restored by Charles II. in 1660 in a very dilapidated condition. It was renovated by Bishop Sprat in 1669, and again by his successor, Bishop Atterbury. The entire palace was rebuilt in 1775 by Bishop Thomas, a fact recorded on a stone above the entrance door bearing an inscription under the arms of the see of Rochester.

A fine avenue of lime-trees led up to the house, which stood on a slope in a small park near the road, and was built in the heavy substantial style typical of the eighteenth century, when solid comfort was more considered than beauty in form and proportion. The square entrance-hall gives a noble stamp to the house, and the eye lingers willingly on the dark oak staircase leading to the upper apartments. On the left of the entrance-door is the chapel, which was consecrated in 1701. In the grounds is an old chalybeate well dedicated to St. Blaise, the patron saint of woolcombers. It was much frequented by pious pilgrims, especially at Whitsuntide, and near it once stood a little chapel or oratory.

The manor passed into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners when the see was rearranged and the bishops moved to Danbury, near Chelmsford. The present episcopal palace is called Bishop's Court, near Sevenoaks. It is comparatively modern, and has a beautiful garden.

Lichfield

The bishopric of Lichfield was established by Oswy, King of Mercia, about 665. It was originally united with Coventry, and at King Offa's request was raised by Pope Adrian to the dignity of an archbishopric. After the death of King Offa, however, it was again reduced to a bishopric.

There seems to be little record of a palace before the days of Walter de Langton, who was consecrated in 1295. He was a great favourite of Edward I., and often sent by him on important affairs of State, and continued High Treasurer after being raised to the episcopate.

After the death of his royal master in Scotland, Langton was ordered by the new king, Edward II., to bring his father's body up to London for burial. This was, no doubt, a ruse on the part of the king, in order to get Langton into his power, for Edward had never forgotten a certain severe correction he had received from the bishop when caught in the ruthless destruction of his lordship's deer. Langton was imprisoned in the Tower, chiefly at the instigation of Piers Gaveston, then in high favour with the king.

During this unjust imprisonment all the bishop's possessions were confiscated, the palace, no doubt, amongst them. It was chiefly owing to the loyal support of his clergy that he was finally released and allowed to return to his diocese. He greatly improved the condition of the cathedral and

town, and, having given up his old mansion to his clergy, set to work to build a new palace in the north-east corner of the close. According to a plan now in the Bodleian Library, this must have been an extensive building, occupying 250 feet, and having two towers; the ruins of one of which may still be seen. The bishop's lodging-room was 40 feet by 32 feet, with a leaden roof and a cellar underneath; it contained an enormous chimney-piece, opposite which was a door leading to the dining-hall. This hall he had decorated with paintings of Edward I.'s marriage, coronation, wars, and funeral, which, though much faded, still existed till the Civil Wars. The episcopal establishment included a large brew-house and kitchen, and extensive stables. A pleasing instance of Christian charity is recorded of this bishop, which deserves notice. When all the nobles and clergy rose up against Piers Gaveston, the bishop, to whom he had formerly done so much injury, refused to join in the general condemnation of him. For this, Langton was excommunicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but absolved by the Pope. This palace was the scene of many a banquet. On Christmas Day, 1397, Richard II. entertained so many guests that a room had to be specially built between the hall and the kitchen. It is said that 200 tuns of wine and 2,000 oxen were consumed on this occasion. The following year, on the installation of Bishop Burghill, the king once more gave a feast to the nobles and clergy.

By the fifteenth century the possessions of this see had so increased that the Pope issued a decree that the palaces of Coventry and Lichfield, the castle and manors of Eccleshall, Haywood, Beaudesert, and the mansion in the Strand were sufficient for the bishops, and that they should not be obliged to repair any others. The palace in the Strand was afterwards

granted by Henry VIII. to Edward, Earl of Hertford (and afterwards Duke of Somerset), and shared the same fate as that belonging to the Bishop of Worcester, being cleared away to make room for Somerset House. All the chief manors were alienated by Bishop Sampson, during the reign of Henry VIII., and were granted to Sir William Paget. When Lichfield was besieged by the Parliamentarians during the Civil War, the cathedral close was held by the Loyalists, when the rest of the town was occupied by Cromwell's men, with Lord Brooke at their head. He was well known as an inveterate enemy to episcopacy, and when marching on Lichfield asked for a sign of divine approval, praying to be cut off if his cause were not just. This request was quickly answered by a bullet fired from the cathedral towers, bringing him instant death. It happened on the feast of St. Chad, the patron saint of Lichfield, and brought renewed hope to the hearts of the Royalists. However, their provisions ran short, and surrender was inevitable.

The cathedral close became a prey to the ruthless rabble, whose destructive passions ran riot amongst these sacred buildings. The cathedral itself was the scene of the vilest sacrilege and profanation, and the episcopal palace with all its treasures was reduced to a heap of ruins. In this condition it remained till Bishop John Hacket was raised to the see. His first care was the restoration of the cathedral, to which he applied himself with such vigour that in eight years it was restored to its former beauty. He also laid out £1,000 on his palace, where on Christmas Eve he entertained all the clergy and nobles who had come to the consecration of the church. Succeeding bishops appear to have had little affection for the place, which for many years was leased to tenants, during which time Eccleshall became the episcopal

residence. Here they lived in great state, and it is said that Bishop Frederic Cornwallis turned out in a coach-and-four to attend the church, though only a few yards from his door. After Bishop Lonsdale's death in 1687 Eccleshall was sold, and the bishops again took up their abode at Lichfield.

The present palace was built by Bishop Wood in 1687 in what was formerly the garden of Langton's palace. The walk in front is full of interest: over the beautiful valley, can be seen the willow made famous by Johnson, and the spot where Lord Brooke received so prompt an answer to his prayer.

Opposite the palace, and behind the chapter-house, is an enclosed spot called Mint Yard: probably where the bishop's mint once stood, for the privilege of coining was granted to the bishops by King Stephen, and coins bearing the Lichfield mint mark were discovered not long ago at Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

Worcester

Hartlebury has from the earliest times been the principal seat of the bishops of Worcester. The manor was granted to them by Burthred, King of Mercia, in 850. The earliest mention, however, of a castle is during the episcopate of Walter de Cantilupe, who began building one for himself and his successors in 1257. He did not live to complete the work, which was carried on and finished by Godfrey Giffard. In 1267—8, Henry III. granted him leave to "build, fortify, embattle, and with lime and stone to finish his castle at Hartlebury," adding a little later the right of free-warren. A beautiful chapel was soon built, and the whole surrounded by a moat. Towards the close of the reign of Henry VI., Bishop John Carpenter added a gate-house.

Owing no doubt to its position and strength it was chosen by the king's forces during the civil wars as a convenient stronghold, and was garrisoned by Lord Windsor and Colonel Sandys. It was attacked by the Parliamentary forces, capitulated after two days, and was left a heap of ruins, with the exception of the keep. The castle was rebuilt in the reign of Charles II., and was greatly improved by Bishop Hurd, who added the present fine library, bequeathing at his death a valuable collection of books. Unfortunately these improvements necessitated the removal of the old keep, thus leaving nothing of the original building. The castle as it stands at present is approached through an avenue of fine lime-trees, planted by Bishop Stillingfleet. Part of the old moat still remains. The castle is built round a quadrangular court, and is surmounted with battlements. The present bishop has converted a portion of the building into a college for clergy.

The bishops of Worcester early had a house in London. In 857 King Bertwulf gave Alcune, Bishop of Worcester, a piece of ground outside the west gate of London, called Ceolmundinge-haga, the rent being 12*d.* a year. They afterwards had a house in the Strand, for which Bishop Wulstan de Bransford gave William de Netterton 40*d.* and a robe yearly for keeping it in order. Amongst the accounts of Bishop Tideman is the entry: "To Henry Cambrigge, citizen and fishmonger, the keeping of the house without the gate of the new Temple together with easements of all houses lying between the great gate of the said house and the Savoy, also a certain void piece of ground whereon to build a house for life—for the rent of one pound of pepper yearly, repairing all the houses outside the gate, and finding the bishop and his successors in herbs."

The episcopal residence was afterwards destroyed by the Protector Somerset to make room for Somerset House, the bishop receiving in exchange a mansion in Whitefriars. In 1680 they moved again to Soho Square, that being the "genteelest" part of the town.

Chichester

The see of Chichester was originally fixed at Selsey. The cathedral and bishop's palace were evidently built close to the shore, in Saxon times, and when it was realized that the sea was gradually encroaching on the land, it was deemed advisable to transfer the buildings to some more permanent site. Camden says that in his day at low tide, the ruins of the ancient Saxon buildings might still be seen. Part of the coast still bears the names of Bishop's Park and Park Coppice. This land had been granted to the bishops in very early days—probably when the bishopric was first founded in 681—and was confirmed to them by Henry I. A curious old document in the bishops' archives shows with what extraordinary care the game was preserved.

About 1070 most of the old cathedral and other buildings were pulled down, the materials being taken to Chichester to form a new cathedral. Stigand was the last Bishop of Selsey, and the first of Chichester, but he was not able to proceed very quickly with the new buildings. The times were too troublous, and the men too much occupied with the sterner duties of warfare, to be able to turn their attention to stones and mortar. But when, in the reign of Henry I., the country had somewhat quieted down, Bishop Ralph was able to do more in this respect. He built a beautiful cathedral and a palace for himself. The site he chose had evidently been once a Roman house, for when alterations

were being made, part of a Roman pavement was discovered as well as several coins. In 1104 a devastating fire consumed most of the town of Chichester, and both the cathedral and the palace perished in the flames. Seffrid, the second bishop of that name, received a grant from Earl William of a fourth part of the city, extending from the south to the west gate, including the site of the cathedral and episcopal palace, as well as the whole close. This grant was confirmed by several succeeding monarchs.

It was probably about this time that Seffrid built the new cathedral and palace, which were once more doomed to destruction, being burnt to the ground in 1186. Nothing daunted by these two calamities, the bishop began the work of restoration almost immediately, and the new cathedral was consecrated in 1199. It may be that a gloom had been cast over the bishop's residence by this twice repeated destruction, which according to the predictions of certain wise folk would certainly be followed by a third; at any rate the succeeding bishops had little interest in the palace, though they did much towards beautifying and strengthening other residences. Bishop Neville obtained a grant from Henry III. to build a palace for himself in London, which was no doubt in accordance with that prelate's magnificent ideas; but we hear nothing of restorations at Chichester. Bishop Rede, his successor, appears to have had still more exalted ideals of episcopal dignity, and considered his residences far inferior to those of contemporary prelates; he accordingly built Amberley Castle, part of which still remains to bear witness to his architectural tastes. But he again appears to have quite ignored the palace at Chichester. It was in the reign of Henry VI. that the episcopal estates increased to an almost incredible extent. Adam de Moleynes

or Molyneux received licence from that monarch to impark two thousand acres of land in Amberley, Cakeham, and Cold Waltham; two thousand at Drungewick, one thousand in West Wittering, two thousand in Bexhill, two thousand in Bishopstone and Heathfield; two thousand in Broill and Ticehurst, with leave also to crenellate with stone all his manor-houses in these places. He did not live long, however, to enjoy his vast possessions. He obtained leave to absent himself the following year; when with an annuity of five hundred marks he prepared to enjoy himself in more congenial surroundings. He probably resigned the bishopric and proceeded to Portsmouth, with the intention of crossing over to the Continent, but got no further, being attacked by seamen in the boat and murdered.

Succeeding bishops spent most of their time at Amberley or Aldingbourne, and when Bishop Sherburne was raised to the see in 1521, he found Chichester Palace in a ruinous condition. He built the great dining-room, the timber framed ceiling of which was divided into compartments, and decorated with Gothic scrolls and armorial bearings. He entirely remodelled the plan, and divided the former hall into an upper and lower apartment, adding also a great hall, the ceiling of which was said to have been painted by Bernardi.

All this wealth of course attracted the eagle eye of Queen Elizabeth, who pounced down on the tempting prey, and carried off eight out of the thirteen episcopal manors. Selsey was amongst the number of those alienated. It appears the bishops had been in the habit of storing up wood and timber at Selsey, to supply the episcopal residence of Chichester with fuel and material for repairs, and the bishop complained that it was impossible to keep the house in order without

these supplies. Judge Heath, replied on behalf of the queen, that "Aldingbourne was near, and the bishop could be supplied from thence"; but this was small comfort to the unfortunate bishop, as his predecessors had cut down all the trees there. With such trials and impoverished revenues, little could be done to the palace; the bishop no doubt felt his tenure so uncertain, that it was hardly worth while spending time and money on what might be confiscated next day. Bishop Henry King did, however, turn his attention to the house, and restored it considerably in 1641. He might have saved himself the labour, for two years after the town was besieged by Sir William Waller. The bishop was in residence at his palace, and received scant mercy from the Puritans, who carried him off a prisoner to London. They had evidently promised that his library should be spared the usual rough treatment, a promise that was not kept, for the bishop complains in his will that it was "seized, contrary to the condition and contract of the generall and Counsell of War at the taking of that city." It was completely ransacked, and many valuable registers and documents lost, which might have thrown more light on the past history of the bishopric. Bishop King passed the next seventeen years in retirement. At the Restoration he once more returned to his episcopal palace at Chichester, which was, of course, in a very ruinous state. After all his trials, he had neither the energy nor the means to do much repair. He must have spent the last nine years of his life with few of the comforts so necessary to old age, and died in 1669. Opinions vary considerably as to this bishop's character, and are evidently not the result of unbiassed judgment. His friends describe him as "the epitome of all honours, virtues, and generous nobleness, and a person never to be forgotten by his tenants,

and by the poor." Those who evidently differed from his religious views give him the character of "a proud prelate, and a most pragmatical malignant." These epithets savour so much of Puritan fanaticism that one prefers to believe the kinder judgment.

The palace was partly restored in 1727 by Bishop Waddington, who spent a considerable sum on it. He made many changes in the exterior appearance, substituting window-frames for the old mullions, and a flat parapet for the original gable roof. After the death of Bishop Hare in 1740 there was a law suit between his widow and the new bishop, who demanded about £80 for dilapidations. Mrs. Hare was not willing to pay so large a sum: her husband having kept the palace in perfect repair she could not believe that the few months' vacancy could have wrought such havoc with the buildings. The new bishop was evidently a man of fastidious tastes, with a keen eye for all deficiencies. Nothing escaped him—the window seats that were cracked with the sun, the garden wall that was a little out of the perpendicular, and the stucco that was discoloured—all were added to the bill for dilapidations, which Mrs. Hare was expected to defray. Her lawyer marvels that the spiders' webs on the stable walls had escaped his lordship, and that he had not wished the whole house turned round, so that the window seats should escape the warping rays of sunlight. The bishop's demands were judged exorbitant, and the original sum agreed on by Mrs. Hare's representatives was paid, with a little extra for the wainscot in the chapel. Once more the house was neglected, and once more completely restored by Bishop Buckner, who made many judicious alterations.

It is curious how the history of each palace differs

from, and yet resembles, others. Some have been built with such pride, and adorned with so much loving care: they were jealously guarded too, sometimes at the cost of conscience and principle. And others, again, like Chichester, seem never to have aroused any sentiments at all. It is one long story of neglect and restoration—restoration and neglect. Occasionally one of the bishops made an effort to restore, but it was never carried on by his successor. And yet, strange to say, the palace has escaped complete destruction and stands to this day, with more remains of antiquity than most of its contemporaries. It seems, like some personalities, to have existed without arousing any deep feelings, either of love or hatred. It just stands there, and the storms and tumults of the past have had little effect on its walls, and even as we read its history it arouses but little of the interest that clings round others.

Chichester House stands to the west of the cathedral, and is entered through Canon Gate, erected in the reign of Henry III., above which was formerly the ecclesiastical prison. The chapel also dates from the same period, and is often used for ordinations. When restoring it some time ago a curious picture was found on the south wall, which had no doubt been concealed when some of Henry VIII.'s "visitors" were expected. It dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century and represents Our Lady seated on a rich seat with the Divine Infant in her arms; the angles of the picture are adorned with birds' heads. The dining-hall remains very much as Bishop Sherburne left it, with its curious painted ceiling already described.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the whole building is the kitchen, which is said to be a relic of old times, when the site was occupied by a monastery. It certainly has that

appearance, with its double-arched door and its roof supported by trusses of oak beams at each angle. The garden, which covers eight acres, comprises part of the ancient ramparts, now converted into a terrace.

Allusion has already been made to other residences of the bishops of Chichester. They were so numerous that a description of all would be tedious; but two of the most important deserve a few words: they were Amberley Castle and the house in London.

Amberley was amongst the very earliest endowments of the Saxon see of Selsey, and was included in the grant made by Cædwallar. At the time of the Domesday Survey the bishop possessed twenty-three hides in "Amberle," extending, no doubt, over several parishes. Part of this they evidently held in demesne. The exact date when they took up their residence at Amberley is uncertain. It was probably after the Conquest that a castle was built, for in the remains now existing there is distinct evidence of Norman architecture. In the fourteenth century Bishop William Rede began to build a castle. He evidently considered that his predecessors had been somewhat negligent in providing suitable residences, and set to work to make up for these deficiencies. He had ideas of his own on the subject of architecture, and was not entirely guided by any existing models. The builder has left the stamp of his own strong personality on this work of his, which has stood for six centuries, and may well continue for as many more. Neither was he one of those who in their hurry for results neglect the foundations. He intended the work to be as perfect as man could make it, and ten years passed before it was completed.

In 1377 the bishop received from Richard II. licence "to

fortify with a wall of stone and lime his manor of Amberley, and to crenellate it, for himself and his successors for ever." It consisted of two square towers and three projecting semi-circular towers, two of them flanked the gateway and one faced north at the end of the hall, which had evidently been used as a chapel. The whole enclosed space measured 260 feet by 160 feet. It was a favourite residence of the bishops during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Bishop Sherburne was the last to inhabit this castle. He added considerably to the main building, and put in two large mullioned windows in the state chamber. The artist Bernardi spent many months under the bishop's roof, and painted the ceiling of the "queen's chamber" about the same time that he decorated the palace at Chichester.

We have already said that Bishop Neville obtained a grant from Henry III. to build a palace in London. The bishops of Chichester had, of course, always owned a residence in the metropolis, but it was not spacious enough for Bishop Neville's enormous household. He accordingly chose a site in the seclusion of Lincoln's Inn, close to Chancery Lane, and the palace which he built could compare favourably with any episcopal residence in England. He lived there many years in great state, and died there in 1244. His successors also spent a good deal of their time in this palace. The garden covered many acres, but was reduced in size by Bishop Wych, who leased a part of it for building purposes. It was evidently regarded with covetous eyes by one of Henry VIII.'s courtiers, William Sulyard, usher of the bed-chamber ; and whether or not any force was brought to bear on the owner we know not, but it was leased for ninety-nine years. Perhaps the bishop was glad of this augmentation to his impoverished revenues. It seems to have been little used

as an episcopal residence after this, and was finally alienated by Bishop Sampson. It has since been divided into tenements, and part of the site still bears the name of Chichester Rents.

Salisbury

The see was originally fixed at Old Sarum, two miles from the present Salisbury. In early times it was a fortified town, garrisoned by soldiers and surrounded by entrenchments, the whole area being under martial law.

The bishops appear to have inhabited the castle there, although it was never actually granted to them, but only in their keeping. The place had little to recommend it, having but a poor supply of water, and being in such an exposed position that tradition says: "When the wind did blow they could not hear the priest say Mass." Besides these natural defects, the priests and soldiers were uncongenial neighbours, the devotions of the former often stirring the rude soldiery to open hostility. On one occasion they surrounded the bishop's house, while he and most of his clergy were saying their office in the cathedral, and refused them admittance, obliging the unfortunate priests to spend the whole of a winter's night without shelter. On other occasions they would find the doors of their church bolted and barricaded, making it impossible for them to perform their sacred duties. The annoyances were so frequent that at last Bishop Richard Poore asked leave of the Pope to transfer the see to a more secluded spot where his clergy could be sheltered alike from the inclemencies of the weather and the attacks of their hostile neighbours.

Wishing for some token of divine favour before beginning so great a work, an arrow was shot down into the valley

below, and the spot where it alighted became the site of the new cathedral. The bishops took up their abode at Wilton, just outside Salisbury, though there is no record of the exact spot. The succeeding bishops of Salisbury passed across the stage of life, playing but a very minor part and arousing neither applause nor condemnation; nor is there any record of the scenes on which their small rôles were played. They certainly had a palace at Edington, near Westbury, in the fifteenth century, which Bishop William Ayscough visited occasionally during his twelve years' episcopate. His visits were few and far between, for he was in constant attendance on King Henry VI. in the capacity of confessor. His parishioners appear to have resented his long absence, for we are told that during one of his flying visits to his diocese he said Mass, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, before an unruly congregation of noisy peasants. He had barely finished when they dragged him from the altar steps, in his sacred vestments, to the top of a hill near by. His head was then struck off, and the blood-stained vestments divided amongst the murderers as a memorial of their heroic deed. His naked body was discovered on the hill by some religious of the house of Bonhommes, who carried it to their house at Edington, where it was buried. In the meantime the infuriated mob attacked the episcopal palace, which they ransacked and plundered of all its treasures. The murdered bishop was succeeded by Richard Beauchamp, who, unlike his predecessors, has left many traces of himself behind, particularly in the buildings he erected. So highly esteemed was he for his architectural talents, that he was appointed by Edward IV. to superintend the new buildings at Windsor, where St. George's Chapel still bears witness to the artistic tastes of this great prelate. Nor did his royal master's favour

lead him to neglect his own diocese. He added greatly to the beauty of Salisbury Cathedral, and the great hall of the episcopal palace was built by him. His gateway tower can still be seen, though the doorway has been blocked and the whole surmounted with a battlemented parapet. Succeeding bishops added nothing to the house: several of them held the see but a short time, and others never inhabited the palace at all, but spent most of their time at Ramsbury. In the second year of Bishop Blythe's episcopate the palace was in charge of a caretaker, who, in 1495, received for his services "all the grass growing within the precincts of the palace, a cart-load of hay from the bishop's meadow, 2*d.* a day, and a robe annually."

John Jewel was the first Protestant bishop who occupied the episcopal palace. He was indeed a gem in the circle of prelates, and by the brilliancy of his virtues attracted the admiring gaze even of those who differed most from his religious belief. From the first he attached himself to the Protestant cause, and remained true to his principles throughout the troublous times of Queen Mary, when he retired to the Continent. He remained abroad until the accession of Queen Elizabeth, who, almost immediately, installed him in the bishopric of Salisbury. He was a learned and holy man, whose door was never closed to the poor and suffering. He built the library over the cloisters, and took into his palace several boys who had scholarly abilities, but no means of developing them. He also paid for the education of many students at Oxford: amongst others, Richard Hooker, in whom he early discovered signs of great promise. Richard Hooker was a native of Exeter, and when travelling home on foot from the University, used to call at his patron's palace. He was always sure of a welcome,

which sometimes took a very practical form. We are told that during one of these passing visits, the good bishop, noticing the tired looks and dragging steps of the penniless student, presented him with a few silver pieces, which he jestingly named his "walking-staff." The generous gift, and the kind tact with which it was given, must indeed have cheered the foot-sore student on his way. This great Jewel was lost to the world in 1571, and lies buried in the cathedral. Fuller, in his "Church History" remarked: "It is hard to say whether his soul or his ejaculations arrived first in heaven, seeing he prayed dying, and died praying."

The next nine bishops who inhabited the palace neither added to nor embellished it—though one almost wonders that the original dimensions could have sufficed for Bishop Cotton and his family of nineteen children.

During the Commonwealth, the episcopal palace fared somewhat better than other Church property. The great hall was wrecked, though not completely demolished. The ruined building was sold to a Dutch tailor, Van Ling by name, whose material mind saw nothing incongruous in converting the stately episcopal apartments into an inn. The remaining rooms were let out separately to poor working people, and a passage was opened through the close wall to admit the country folk, who came through Harnham, to attend the weekly market. In this deplorable state the palace remained until the Restoration, when Bishop Seth Ward was installed. After repairing the cathedral—which, strange to say, had passed almost unscathed through the storms of the Revolution—the bishop practically rebuilt his palace, where he once received a visit from James II. For the next hundred years the palace remained untouched until the time of Bishop Barrington, who entirely remodelled the building,

and made a new entrance. Little has been changed since his day. It stands now on the south side of the cathedral close, the battlements fitting in well with its old-world surroundings. A door from the cloisters takes one into the garden, from whence the cathedral can be seen to great advantage. The house is a fine old mansion. The hall, built by Bishop Beauchamp in 1460, fortunately survived the ravages of the Commonwealth, and is now hung with portraits of all the bishops since the Restoration—these are mostly copies, with the exception of those representing Bishops Hyde, Burnet, Sherlocke, Barrington, and Douglas, which are originals.

Exeter

In Saxon times the see was fixed at Crediton, and was transferred after the Norman Conquest to Exeter. There is no record of any episcopal residence until the time of Bishop Brewer, who held the see from 1224 to 1244. He is said to have built a palace, and attached to it was a chantry chapel where Masses were constantly offered for departed bishops. The dean and chapter made an annual offering of two wax candles of a pound weight on the feast of St. Faith. There is constant reference to this chapel throughout the history of the palace, and it still exists as a domestic chapel. Bishop Brewer did not spend much of his time at Exeter. Five years of his episcopate were spent in the Holy Land, and on his return he was constantly sent abroad by the king on important affairs of State. His successor, Richard Blond, was a very different stamp of man, preferring the seclusion of his own dwelling and the company of his books. His simplicity and trustfulness of course made him an easy victim to the unscrupulous men in his service who hesitated not to

grant away benefices in his name and dispose of his property. In 1257, when on his death-bed, they congregated at his palace, and, before the breath had left his body, continued their robberies under a solemn oath of secrecy. Two years later, the ringleaders of this band of robbers, filled with remorse, went to Bishop Bronescombe, the successor of Blond, and in the chapter-house of Buckfastleigh Monastery they confessed their sins and asked for absolution, which was granted them after the prescribed penance had been performed.

Walter de Stapledon, who was consecrated in 1307, spent most of his episcopate in London, where he built "a very fair mansion without Temple Bar for himself and his successors." This prelate was a great favourite of Edward II. and supported him loyally in his struggle with Queen Isabella. When this queen and her lover, Mortimer, landed in Suffolk, the king fled to Wales, leaving Stapledon in charge of London. Accounts vary as to his murder, but it appears he called on the mayor to deliver up the keys of the city. The mayor refused, and the mob at his back set fire to the gates of the episcopal house. The bishop, seeing his case was hopeless, left his palace to be plundered by the excited mob, and, mounting a horse, escaped towards the sanctuary of St. Paul's. However, he was overtaken at the north door, dragged from his horse to the "Chepe," where he was proclaimed "a public traitor, a seducer of the king, and a destroyer of the liberties of the city." His head was struck off and sent to the queen, and the poor mutilated body buried in a heap of rubbish near his palace. It was afterwards taken up and interred with great pomp in his own cathedral. The following year John Grandisson was appointed to the see. He found the revenues in a very impoverished state, and the diocese needing much care and

attention. He devoted all his energies to the work, and obtained leave to absent himself from a council in London, saying there was so much to be done in Exeter, and also, he had no "lodging" in London since the house in the Strand had not recovered the attack of the mob in 1307. This bishop came from a noble and wealthy family and made a judicious use of his fortune. The half-finished cathedral was completed by him, and he evidently added considerably to the beauty and comfort of the palace.

Not long ago, when alterations were being made, the plaster on the ceiling of one of the rooms was removed, revealing a fine oak roof with ornamental cross-beams and beautifully carved bosses at the points of junction. One of these bosses represented a bishop with mitre, amice, and chasuble, and another, the figure of a woman in a hood, both surmounted by foliage. Two adjoining cross-beams bore the arms of Grandisson and Montacute; and as Bishop Grandisson's mother was a Montacute it is reasonable to suppose that the figures represent him and his mother. A little of the original gilding can still be seen, and remains of red, black, and white paint. This prelate came into all the family property on the death of his eldest brother in 1358. He founded the College of St. Mary Ottery, and benefited many churches, hospitals, and religious houses in his diocese. At his death, in 1369, the see of Exeter was one of the richest in the kingdom, owning thirty-two manors, and fourteen fair palaces, all completely furnished with necessaries. This bishop's register contains many interesting details. He speaks of the prison on the west side of the palace, where priests, convicted of felony and scandal, were confined. During the episcopacy of Thomas de Brantingham, six of these prisoners broke loose during the bishop's absence;

they murdered Simon Prescote, the chaplain and keeper of the palace, also the gaoler, and the keeper of the wardrobe, and, after plundering their chambers, escaped. The bishop was exonerated from all blame in the matter, and pardoned by the king. Four years afterwards the same story was repeated, and seven others escaped, but evidently without violence.

During the episcopacy of Bishop Lacy, the City of Exeter was visited by Henry VI., on his progress through the west of England in July, 1452. The event is recorded in some old annals, which tell us that the mayor and chamber, with three hundred persons in the city's livery, went forth to meet him to a certain moor on the west side of Honiton's Clist. All the parochial clergy of Exeter were stationed at the High Cross, where the king, after receiving the incense and kissing the Cross, proceeded to Broadgate at the entry of the Close. After hearing Mass at the High Altar, he retired to the episcopal palace, where he remained for two days. During this royal visit a "gaol delivery" was held in the bishop's hall, and two men condemned. The bishop resented this exercise of temporal authority in his own court, and the condemned men were eventually released. The palace was much improved in the time of Bishop Peter Courtenay, consecrated in 1478. He put in a fine oriel window, unfortunately lost in recent alterations, and also a magnificent mantelpiece in the dining-hall, which has since been moved to the hall. This bishop strongly opposed the match between King Richard III., and Ann, Duchess of Exeter, and succeeded in preventing it. Nevertheless he assisted at that monarch's coronation, in 1483, and escaped to Brittany soon after. During his absence the king visited the episcopal palace at Exeter, which he found well stocked with provisions.

Bishop Courtenay remained on the Continent during Richard's short reign, and helped to establish Henry VII. on the throne, for which he was translated to the see of Winchester.

In 1519, the bishopric was held by John Veysey, who was more of a courtier than a priest. So courteous was he to his royal master that he agreed with all his varying opinions, upholding him in the question of the divorce, and admitting his supremacy in the Church. This loyal bishop, at his master's request, alienated nearly all the episcopal possessions, "leaving but three manors, and those also leased out, and but one house bare and without furniture, and yet charged with sundry fees and annuities." From being one of the richest sees in the kingdom, Exeter became one of the poorest, and when Miles Coverdale, with his wife arrived at the palace in 1551, they found that "the bones of his see had been so clean picked, that he could not easily leave them with less flesh than he found upon them."

The bishops who succeeded him lived but little at the palace, and consequently there is but little to record until 1621, when Bishop Valentine Cary applied to the mayor for permission to make a door through the city wall, to enable him to pass into the fields of Southernhay without encountering the inquisitive glances of the citizens. This request was denied him, whereupon he appealed to James I., who wrote to the mayor and aldermen asking them to make the door, and close it again if necessary. But the mayor was jealous of his rights, and once more, politely but firmly, refused. The bishop was not a man to be overcome by difficulties and at his instigation the case was referred to the Privy Council, and an order issued to the effect that a door should be made, not exceeding two and a half feet in breadth, and six feet in height; that a single key should be made for the door and

kept by the bishop himself during his residence at the palace; but if he were absent for four days, the key was to be given to the mayor. The bishop was ordered to defray all charges occasioned by this passage, and also to have it closed in case of tumult and insurrection, or if the city magistrates demanded it.

During the Civil War, Exeter was twice besieged. On the second occasion it was surrendered after a fortnight to Sir Thomas Fairfax in 1646. His mob of unruly followers was let loose in the Cathedral Close, and carried on the usual work of destruction. The cathedral, of course, received their first attention, and, after stripping it bare of the treasures that Love had lavished on it, they proceeded in their usual systematic manner to plunder all the houses in the close. The bishop's palace was deemed the most suitable shelter for the sheep and oxen, no doubt the great hall became the slaughter-house. They delighted in contrasts in those days. When the soldiers retired from Exeter, the palace was sold to the mayor and chamber for £405, and passed into the hands of a merchant, who converted the building into a sugar-refinery.

At the Restoration, Bishop Gauden was appointed to the vacant see, and on his entry into the city was received with great pomp and ceremony. His palace was, of course, uninhabitable, being still in the hands of the sugar-refiner, and the bishop became the guest of a widow lady, Mrs. Alice Ford. This prelate had formerly been Dean of Bocking, and, owing to his services to the royal family, had been raised to the episcopate. He soon discovered it was but an empty honour, and that the dignity of the mitre and crozier could hardly be sustained without some practical means. He accordingly wrote to the Lord Chancellor, Clarendon,

complaining of the "distress, infelicity, and horror" of such a bishopric, which could only be rendered tolerable by an extra £500 a year. His modest request was evidently not granted. He left Exeter in 1661, and was eventually translated to Worcester. The sugar-refiner continued in undisputed possession of the episcopal palace until 1662, when Bishop Seth Ward appeared on the scenes. His biographer tells us he "retrieved the palace out of the hands of the sugar-baker, repaired it, and made it habitable." The palace remained unaltered until the time of Bishop Keppel, who spent large sums on improvements during his fifteen years episcopacy, lasting from 1762 to 1777. Succeeding bishops were either translated to other sees or lived so little at Exeter that when Henry Philpotts was consecrated in 1831 he found the palace almost uninhabitable. He completely restored it, rebuilding a considerable portion. The palace now stands close to the cathedral on the same side as the chapter-house. The velvety lawns and fine-grown trees harmonize well with the sombre grey buildings, and breathe an air of restfulness far removed from all the tumults of modern life.

Ely

In 1133 Bishop Nigel, treasurer to Henry I., built a castle at Ely. No trace of it can now be seen, and even the site is uncertain. The succeeding bishops all took a leading part in State affairs, and had little time to devote to their diocese.

The castle erected by Nigel was evidently neglected, for when Hugh de Northwode became bishop in 1229 he built an episcopal palace "of stones, covered with lead." In 1252 Hugh de Northwode had the honour of entertaining Henry III. This palace has also completely disappeared, and there is no record of its destruction. We only know

that Bishop Alcock in 1486 found the palace in a ruinous state, and entirely rebuilt it. His stately towers survived the storms of the Civil Wars, and are still standing, as well as the long gallery added by Bishop Goodrich. The latter was one of the most zealous supporters of the Protestant Church during the reign of Henry VIII., and afterwards, as chancellor to Edward VI., affixed the great seal to the instrument declaring Lady Jane Grey the rightful heir to the crown. However, when Queen Mary occupied the throne he loyally suited his conscience to the altered requirements, and died next year, still Bishop of Ely.

After the death of Bishop Cox the see was kept vacant for eighteen years, during which time the revenues went to swell Queen Elizabeth's exchequer. The palace naturally went to rack and ruin, and was restored by Bishop Heton in 1609. During the Civil Wars, Oliver Cromwell paid a visit to Ely, and, marching into the cathedral without uncovering his head, shouted to the minister in the pulpit "to leave that foolery and come down." No doubt the palace was declared "public property" and was thrown open to the Roundheads to satisfy their insatiable hunger for destruction.

It was again completely rebuilt by Bishop Keene during his episcopate (1771—81). He pulled down all that remained, except the two towers and the long gallery, and built the present palace. Bishop Woodford improved the exterior by altering the windows, and Lord Alwyne Compton added the present dining-room. In the gallery is a curious old painting, one of the most interesting relics of the past, supposed at one time to have been painted in the eleventh century. This, however, has been disproved, although it no doubt dates from the sixteenth century. It is divided into forty equal compartments, each containing a portrait of a monk and an

armed knight. Legend says it commemorates the time when, after quelling Hereward the Wake's insurrection, William the Conqueror quartered his knights on the monastery, each monk having a knight as his guest. These guests so endeared themselves to the monks that when the king recalled them to put down another rebellion, the monks bewailed the departure of these "dere fellows," and followed them to Haddenham with "howlings fereful to be heard, beating their breasts as voyde of all hope."

The most interesting of all the Ely palaces from an historical point of view is Ely Place, Holborn. At any early date the bishops had a house in the Temple, and in 1290 Bishop Kirkeby bequeathed an "inn" or town house, called "Le Bell," and nine cottages in Holborn to his successors, on condition that a requiem Mass should be celebrated on the anniversary of his death. John Hotham, who was consecrated in 1316, added to this property. He played a leading part in State affairs during the troublous reign of Edward II., and was entrusted with the Great Seal when Edward III. was proclaimed king in 1327. About this time he bought a house and several parcels of land near his manor in Holborn in the suburb of London, consisting of a vineyard, kitchen garden, orchard, and enclosed pasture, all of which he settled on the see of Ely. By the sixteenth century it was a "handsome and commodious mansion," standing in twenty acres of ground, with the chapel, dedicated to St. Etheldreda, in an adjoining field. The beauty and seclusion of the place attracted the notice of Sir Christopher Hatton, who asked Queen Elizabeth to obtain the lease of it from Bishop Cox. He was loath to part with it, even temporarily; but as threats succeeded entreaties further resistance was useless, and the palace was let for twenty-one years for the rent of one red

rose at midsummer, and the grounds for ten loads of hay and £10 yearly. The bishop reserved two rooms for himself, as well as free access through the gate-house, and the right to walk in the gardens and gather two bushels of roses each summer.

As soon as Hatton was in possession he set to work to improve and embellish both the house and gardens, and became so enamoured of the place that the prospect of having to turn out after twenty-one years was unbearable. He therefore once more applied to his royal mistress to obtain a perpetual grant of the property. The bishop replied in a well-worded Latin epistle, full of expressions of undying loyalty, but his "fearful" conscience would never permit him thus to rob his successors. Queen Elizabeth's answer to this epistle was short and very much to the point. It ran as follows: "Proud prelate, you know what you were before I made you what you are. If you do not instantly comply—by G—, I will unfrock you." The unfortunate bishop had no choice, and, sorely against his will, a compromise was effected. The place was mortgaged to the queen, and by her to Hatton, for £1,800—the sum that Hatton had spent on it.

After the death of Bishop Cox the bishopric was kept vacant for eighteen years, and when at last it was filled by Bishop Heton the revenues were so much reduced that it was impossible to collect the necessary funds in order to redeem the estate. And so the heirs of Lord Hatton continued in undisputed possession until the time of Bishop Wren, who once more asserted his right to the palace, and entered his suit at the Court of Requests. The money being forthcoming, his claim was established, and Lady Hatton began pulling up her choice plants and fruits, and even the

water-pipes, preparatory to a move. Once more fate intervened in the shape of the Long Parliament, and Wren was given a free lodging in the Tower.

During these years of imprisonment his thoughts must often have wandered to that palace at Holborn, which had been snatched from him at the moment when it seemed within his grasp. When at last he was set at liberty and hastened to the place that had cost him so dear it was hardly recognizable; the beautiful garden was built over with small houses, the gate-house and part of the main building had entirely disappeared, and most of the out-houses demolished. The bishop was obliged to enter his palace by a back door, and to drive his horses through the great hall. The quiet of the cloisters was disturbed by noisy revellers in the crypt below, then converted into a drinking-tavern, and the sound of their rude voices and coarse laughter penetrated even to the sacred stillness of the chapel above. The work of destruction was complete, and, worn out with his long imprisonment, the bishop had neither the energy nor the means to attempt any restoration. Succeeding bishops tried to regain possession. The case dragged on, enriching the lawyers and clerks, but bringing no relief to the unfortunate bishops.

Now all that remains of this sumptuous palace, which had brought little but misery to its various owners, is the chapel of St. Etheldreda. It is well worth a visit.

Turning away from the noise and bustle of Holborn into a quieter by-street, it is difficult to imagine that we are standing on the site of a garden, where once a bushel of roses could be gathered in one summer. The little chapel is so crushed up between tall smoke-grimed buildings that it could easily be passed by unnoticed. The entrance at the side takes us into all that remains of the cloisters; the old paving-stones might

well be the same that were once trodden by so many bishops of Ely. A few yards further on is an arched entrance, and a flight of steep steps leads us down into the crypt below. At first we can see nothing but the red lamp burning before the altar, and a hushed sense of peace steals over the soul. It seems as if these old, old walls enclosed Time itself, and eight centuries have passed without leaving any trace. Perhaps the oaken rafters are somewhat blacker and the old stones not quite so regular as when they were first laid there. Our thoughts naturally wander back to the days when these rafters echoed back the noisy laughter and ribald song of the drinking-tavern, and these stones were stained with the dregs of beer and wine and the staggering feet of the drunken revellers. But that has passed, and the crypt has been restored to its original purpose, and the holy stillness of a Divine Presence pervades every corner.

Gloucester

At the dissolution of the monastery at Gloucester Henry VIII. installed his chaplain, John Wakeman, as bishop, granting him the abbot's house for his episcopal palace. This house covered a great deal of ground, and was more than ordinarily spacious. The great hall was built by Abbot Thomas Horton, who governed the monastery from 1351 to 1377. The year after his death the king held his Parliament in this great hall. Adjoining it was the "guest chamber," where the Privy Council sometimes met. It is described as a "goodly brave place," and "so swetly keept and so richly furnyshed" that it was called the king's chamber.

A very minute description of the palace is given in the grant of Henry VIII. It is full of interest, and deserves to be quoted.

"And whereas we will that the said Bishop of Gloucester and his successors be honorably endowed, we give and by these presents grant to the same bishop all that our hall covered with lead commonly called the 'leaden hall,' and a pantry and a buttery together with a kitchen with two little houses for storing food, and a small court with a certain pond or stew to which fresh water flows, situated and being at the east end of the hall. Also a great chamber in which the servants of the late abbot were wont to eat, situated and being at the west end of the said hall, and likewise a pantry, buttery, and underground cellar, with a certain way leading to it, on the south side of the same great chamber; also a certain court or waste or waste place, adjoining the same great chamber. Also one other chamber, commonly called the court chamber, with three other bedchambers built over the said court chamber. Likewise one other great chamber in which the late abbot was wont to eat, with a pantry, a buttery, and an underground cellar (*subterraneam officinam*) on the south end of the same chamber. And also a gallery or walking-place, and a bedchamber on the south part of said gallery, with three bedchambers together constructed on the north end of the said gallery. Also all those three inner bedchambers with a middle chamber, a chapel, and another gallery adjoined to the same bedchamber and privy to the late abbot. Also one other hall, a pantry, a buttery, and a kitchen and two bedchambers at the east end of the same gallery. Also all and singular the chambers, houses, buildings, underground cellars, and other offices whatsoever, situated or built over or under the said halls, chambers, galleries, and all other and singular premises. Also a certain garden, which extends itself before the said three inner bedchambers, and the rest of the buildings privy to the said abbot. And also all the messuages,

dwellings, houses, edifices, and structures with the land and soil of the same, the gardens, orchards, waste places, walls, and all other hereditaments whatsoever known by the name of the 'Abbottes Lodgyng' situated within all that precinct, circuit, and court called the 'Abbottes Lodgyng.' And we will that the said messuages, dwellings, halls, and other the premises whatsoever be deemed, named, and called the palace of the Bishop of Gloucester and his successors."

Bishop Wakeman was succeeded by John Hooper. He had formerly been a White Friar at Bristol. After the Dissolution he went abroad, where, freed from the protecting walls of his monastery, he had not the strength to remain true to his vows. Wishing naturally to justify his own weakness he went to the other extreme, and threw all the force of his nature into the Protestant cause. He imbibed Calvinistic doctrines, and returned to England in the reign of Edward VI. with an inveterate hatred of all "Papist ceremonies." He was offered the Bishopric of Gloucester, but flatly refused to wear the episcopal vestments at his consecration. He was consequently sent to the Fleet Prison to think things over quietly. After a few months' reflection he gave in, and was consecrated in the obnoxious garments in 1550. He is described as obstinate and morose, and his dislike for Ridley was so insurmountable that it is said that "when his episcopal habit was half worn out yet his anger to Ridley was new and fresh as at the beginning." Not long after his consecration he resigned his see to Edward VI., receiving it back from him to hold "during the king's good pleasure." In Queen Mary's reign he was once more deprived. One cannot help admiring the way the obstinate old Protestant went to the stake rather than take back one word of his opinion. Perhaps the fires purified some of the

proud spirit of the man. He was at least no time-server, though he had the choice of retaining the bishopric if he returned to his former faith.

We hear little of the palace till the time of Bishop Ravis, who was consecrated in 1604. He added greatly to the comfort of the house by making several conduits to bring in water. He also paved it throughout and rebuilt a great deal of it. He was very lavish in his hospitality, which perhaps occasioned his translation to the see of London. During the Commonwealth the see was vacant, and the palace sold to Thomas Hodges for £913.

The palace was considerably improved in 1735 by Bishop Benson, who built a new front and a large hall, the end of which was lighted by a beautiful window. He also added a domestic chapel. In 1788, during the episcopate of Dr. Halifax, King George III. and his queen paid a visit to Gloucester, and were entertained by that prelate. A small marble tablet was put up over the fire-place in the hall to commemorate the occasion.

Dr. Beadon made many judicious changes in the arrangement of the rooms, adding considerably to the comfort of the house. The present palace was built in 1862, and very little of the old building remains.

Bristol

The see of Bristol was separated from that of Salisbury in 1542, and raised to an independent bishopric. Henry VIII., according to his usual custom, endowed the bishopric with the abbot's lodging and some of the possessions formerly belonging to the dissolved monastery. Paul Bush was the first bishop installed, and according to some doggerel lines, he was "the first prelate that Christiandom ever did see, a

husband to a Ladee." He and his "ladee" took up their abode in the abbot's house, where they spent eleven years. When Queen Mary came to the throne, the bishop was asked to resign either his diocese or his wife. He chose to remain faithful to the latter, and retired from Bristol. His wife died soon after, and the wise bishop, finding no sacrifice necessary, returned to his former faith, and received the rectory of Winterbourne. Here, maybe, he wished to make amends for past self-indulgence, by a life of severe penance; and tradition says his fasts were so rigorous and continual that he died from starvation. The next bishop of any note who occupied the palace was Dr. Fletcher, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was essentially a shrewd man of business, and was not going to be hurried into the bishopric without making his own terms. He first obtained leave to lease out the revenues to various courtiers, which he did to such an extent, that the see became one of the poorest. Perhaps that accounted for the fact that, after his translation to Worcester, no bishop was installed for four years. Having buried his first wife, he took to himself another, which he did apparently without consulting the wishes of his royal mistress. She was not slow in showing her displeasure; and so loyal and devoted a subject was he that the coldness of her looks froze him completely. He died quite suddenly in 1596. The episcopal palace and the park attached to it were sold to Thomas and John Clark for £260 during the Rebellion. The house as it then stood was large and rambling, with a great deal of waste space; it opened into the east cloister. The domestic chapel was very small, only fifteen feet by eleven, with a good deal of painted glass. Judging from the names and armorial bearings of the last abbots who occupied the house, it could not have been a very ancient

structure. In 1831 the original episcopal palace was attacked by the rioters, and burnt to the ground. Some of the blackened ruins can still be seen in the graveyard on the south side of the cathedral.

Peterborough

Peterborough was formerly a part of the see of Lincoln. In 1541 the monastery of Peterborough was surrendered to Henry VIII. by Abbot John Chambers, when the town became the seat of a new diocese, the former abbot being installed as bishop. This monastery escaped the fate of so many others, perhaps because Catherine of Arragon had found a last resting-place in the cathedral, and the king wished to make amends after death for his treatment of her during life. Be that as it may, the abbot's house remained standing, and was converted into the episcopal palace. The building existing in the sixteenth century was large and stately with "fair vaults and goodly cellars." The great hall was one of the finest in England, at the upper end high up above the ground were three thrones, on which sat three figures, curiously carved in wood, and adorned with paint and gilding. They represented the founders of the monastery, and bore the following inscription:—

> "Per Peadam primo domus hæc fundatur ab imo,
> Post per Wolferum stabat possessio rerum
> Fabit Ethelrædus fræternum ponere fœdus."

This hall was the scene of a great banquet during the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots, in Peterborough in 1586. Richard Howland was bishop at the time, and we are told that "on Monday afternoon came to Peterborough all the lords and ladies and other assistants appointed, and at the bishop's

palace was prepared a great supper for them, where all at one table supped in the great hall, being hanged with black, where was a state set on the right side thereof of purple velvet. Upon Tuesday morning the chief mourners, lords and ladies and other assistants being ready, about ten of the clock, they marched from the hall of the bishop's palace" to the cathedral, where the bishop preached. After the funeral they departed to the bishop's house, "where was a great feast appointed accordingly. The concourse of people was many thousands, and after dinner the nobles departed everyone towards his own home."

The next occupant of the palace was Thomas Dove, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, who called him the "Dove with the silver wings," on account of his venerable appearance and a happy knack of clothing his thoughts in silver words. He was a great lover of hospitality, and during his episcopate the great hall witnessed many a noble feast. He kept open house, and did his duty nobly by entertaining his friends and bringing up a numerous family. In spite of apparent lavish expenditure, he husbanded his resources so well that his children had no cause for dissatisfaction. He began making many alterations in the palace, and obtained leave from the archbishop to demolish the monks' hall as well as the abbot's kitchen. He did not, however, live to replace these buildings.

In 1640, during the episcopate of John Towers, the Commission for draining the fens was held at Peterborough, the commissioners sitting in the bishop's great hall.

At this time it was decided by Parliament to deprive bishops of their vote. A measure strongly opposed by Bishop Towers. A protestation was drawn up by twelve bishops declaring all laws null and void that were passed

during their absence from the House of Lords. The Bishop of Peterborough, with the other eleven, was imprisoned in the Tower, and all his goods confiscated. There he remained for four or five months, and on his release found an empty palace awaiting him. It was impossible to settle down with any degree of comfort, his peace being disturbed by alarming rumours and threats. So the bare palace was abandoned, and the bishop fled to Oxford, which was then garrisoned by the king's troops. Here again tumult and bloodshed pursued him. Oxford was besieged, and surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the bishop again sought the shelter of his own roof. His health was shattered, and the remaining years of his life were spent in the misery of an incurable disease. He died at Peterborough early in 1648.

Soon after his death the palace was sold to those who had little reverence for beauty and antiquity. They laid their ruthless hands first on the chapel, and having successfully demolished that, turned their attention to the palace. The great hall was wrecked; the figures of the three founders, which had looked down on many a gay banquet and solemn council, were hurled from their thrones amongst these beasts of prey, whose hunger could only be appeased by what was fashioned in beauty or hallowed by age. Having levelled it all to the ground, the lead, stone, and timber were collected in heaps, to be sold to any who cared to carry them away.

It would seem sometimes as though a curse rested on this work of destruction, and as if the stones consecrated to God's service could not, with impunity, be used for lesser purposes. We are told that a certain merchant bought the greater part of these materials, with which he loaded a ship and set sail for Holland, but neither the crew nor the cargo was ever seen

again—the stones and lead have found a last resting-place beyond the reach of desecrating hands.

The palace received a little milder treatment than many of its contemporaries, and part of the original building is still standing on the south side of the western part of the cloister. The old gate-house which formerly led to the abbot's house may still be seen, and the chamber above, known as the "knight's chamber," is said to be the work of Abbot Godfrey de Croyland in 1319. The beautiful vaulted under-crypt dates from a century earlier. The palace also contains two oriels of a chamber known as "heaven's gate chamber," built by Abbot Kirton not long before the Dissolution. In the gardens one may still see the ruins of the former refectory.

Oxford

The Bishopric of Oxford was another of those founded by Henry VIII., who fixed it in the first place at Oseney. Here stood a magnificent abbey of Augustinians—one of the richest and most beautiful in England. When the abbot, Robert King, surrendered it to the king, his loyalty was rewarded with a bishop's mitre, and he continued there for four years in his double character of bishop and abbot. However, the fair monastery with all its treasures was too rich a plum for Henry long to resist, and in 1546 it was finally dissolved. Not a stone now remains to tell of its former splendour. It being necessary to provide the bishop with a suitable abode, he was installed in Gloucester College. He did not long remain there, for when Edward VI. inspected his father's charter, with the object of confirming the various grants, Gloucester Hall was omitted. It was perhaps after this that Bishop King inhabited a house in the parish of St. Aldates, facing Trill Mill stream. He must have spent

a considerable sum on the decorations, and his arms were conspicuous everywhere.

King, like some of his contemporaries, had an adaptable conscience, which suited itself most conveniently to all requirements. He was evidently a man with one purpose in life—retaining his mitre—and all trifles, such as conscience or principle, must perforce be brushed aside. He certainly succeeded admirably, becoming a zealous Reformer under Edward VI., and in his maturer years, when Queen Mary governed the land, all the teaching of his monastic days revived, and he was once more a Catholic. Whether he would have recovered his senses in the Protestant days of good Queen Bess, we know not, for he never lived to stand this test; but we can well believe that a man of his marvellous breadth and loyalty, would have risen superior to all difficulties, and still remained Bishop of Oxford.

Queen Elizabeth kept the see vacant for forty-one years, during which time most of the lands formerly granted by Henry VIII. were alienated—a few, including Cuddesdon, being given in exchange. The succeeding bishops appear never to have had a fixed abode. They were wanderers on the face of the earth, at times occupying some vacant parsonage in their diocese, and sometimes renting a house in the city of Oxford. It was not till John Bancroft was raised to the bishopric that any attempt was made to provide a permanent dwelling. He looked about him for a suitable site, and finally chose Cuddesdon. This village is five miles from Oxford, and has already been mentioned as one of the estates granted to the see by Queen Elizabeth in exchange for those alienated. The lease of the parsonage had just expired, and the parish was without a vicar. Bishop Bancroft accordingly inducted himself, and took up his abode in the vacant

parsonage. His impoverished revenues were augmented by a pension of £100 a year, granted by Charles I., who likewise gave him leave to take what timber he liked from the royal forests of Stowood and Shotover, and so the palace was begun. Archbishop Laud took a great interest in the new building, and tells us in his diary, September 2, 1635: "I was in attendance with the king at Woodstock, and went from thence to Cuddesdon to see the house which Dr. John Bancroft had built to be a house for the bishops of that see for ever, having built that house at my persuasion." Although he spent £3,500 on the new palace, which was a considerable sum in those days, we are told it was rather commodious than splendid.

Dr. Bancroft did not spend many peaceful years there, for in 1640 the Long Parliament fixed its fascinating gaze on the unfortunate bishop and so paralyzed him with fears of imprisonment and confiscation that he withered up and died with little or no sickness. His fears must have had some foundation, for the Puritans described him as "a corrupt unpreaching Popish prelate." The palace did not long survive its builder. Colonel Legge, who was Governor of Oxford, knowing that the property of the "Popish prelate" would become a prey to the Puritan party, anticipated their work of destruction by burning it to the ground himself, and once more the bishops of Oxford had no fixed residence. When the storms had somewhat abated, Dr. Paul collected materials for a new building, but got no further. It was Dr. Fell who eventually, "with monies out of his own purse," began the erection of a new palace on the same site as the old one. It was finished about 1679, and remains to the present day with very little alteration, beyond the addition of a chapel in 1846 by Bishop Wilberforce. It stands

surrounded by a small park, and is an imposing mansion, though with little to distinguish it from other country houses.

Having given this brief sketch of the episcopal palaces belonging to the sees founded in Saxon and Norman times, as well as those at the Reformation, it now only remains for us to speak of those founded in recent times. The present palaces are quite modern, with no historical interest attached to them. The only exception is, perhaps, Southwell, which deserves a few words. There stood formerly, close to the cathedral, the ancient palace belonging to the archbishops of York, begun by Bishop Kempe, who governed the northern province from 1425 to 1452. It was completed by his successor, William Booth, and embellished by several succeeding prelates. The buildings formed a large quadrangle with gardens and a path on the south. For many years the building was in a ruinous condition, until it was bought by Dr. Trollope together with the gardens and a small part of the park. In 1882 he restored the "great chamber" or smaller hall, which formerly adjoined the "great hall," panelling it with oak, and putting in some beautiful stained glass windows filled with royal arms.

The palace was restored in 1906—7 for the present Bishop of Southwell.

The Palace of Lambeth

ALMOST opposite to Westminster, where the course of the Thames runs due north and south, stands Lambeth Palace. Seen from the river it appears a squat, sombre castle of mingled dull red brick and grey stone, the dignity of age rendering it equally aloof from the surrounding squalor of the neighbouring slums, and from the solid handsome monotony of the row of buildings constituting St. Thomas's Hospital. A tram passes along the road which divides the palace from the river; nearly opposite the gateway, on the site of the old horse-ferry, Lambeth Bridge leads across to the wharves on the opposite shore; the Thames, rigidly embanked, is the highway now only for coal or hay-barges, small boats, and steamers. Facing the river, the Lollards' or Water Tower rises square, rough, and grey against the enclosing wall of the palace. The windows are few and so inconspicuous that at a distance it has an aspect of blankness. A little further back, at right angles to it, extending southward, stands the great hall, while stretching inland behind the tower, are the main buildings of the palace. The red castellated gateway faces south. It leads into a thin, narrow grass court, bounded on the north by the Lollards' Tower, and lying between the outer wall and the great hall, now the library. Immediately to the right of the entrance, beyond an archway which connects the library and the porter's lodge, lies a larger grass court and garden.

The oldest part of the palace is the crypt beneath the chapel, at one time said to be the crypt of the collegiate church, which was begun by Archbishop Baldwin, about 1190, and was pulled down again by the Pope's command in 1199. Though this is now held to be incorrect, it seems not unlikely that the position of the palace was determined by the destruction of the church—site and materials being thus ready to hand.

The erection of this church at Lambeth had been suggested by Richard I., as a compromise in the famous quarrel between Baldwin and the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury. Baldwin, who is described as an austere melancholy man, was a lover of learning and a "fervent monk." The magnificence and independence of the monks outraged his conception of the monastic life, and he planned the foundation of a college of secular priests at Hackington, near Canterbury, which should be a centre for students and scholars. The monks of Christchurch believed that the archbishop intended to supplant their house. They uprose in indignation. The existence of such a college encroached on their rights and privileges. They appealed to the Pope, to the kings of England and France. Finally, Baldwin agreed to transfer the college to another and more distant neighbourhood, and for this purpose he obtained twenty-four acres of land in Lambeth from the monks of St. Andrew, at Rochester, who at that time were lords of the manor of Lambeth, giving them in return land in the Isle of Grain; and this exchange was confirmed by the king, March 20, 1190. Baldwin laid the foundations of his church, and then sailed on the Crusade, and both the quarrel and the building languished during his absence. He died in the camp of the Crusaders in that same year, and it was not until the

election of Hubert Walter to the archbishopric, in 1193, that the dispute was resumed with renewed bitterness. Finally, in 1199, the total destruction of the church was commanded by Innocent III.

It was while the quarrel was at its height that Archbishop Hubert acquired the whole of Lambeth Manor from the monks of St. Andrew in exchange for that of Darenth and the Chapel of Helles, in Kent. The archbishops appear to have constantly occupied the manor-house at Lambeth while it still belonged to the Priory of Rochester, and it may well have been, even then, their customary residence when they wished to be within reach of London. Probably this house was insufficient for their requirements as a permanent dwelling-place, for it is within the next few years that the first buildings were begun, from which the present palace has grown. Hubert Walter himself is said to have begun the original "great hall."

At that time Lambeth was a village. The surrounding country was chiefly meadow and marsh land intersected with narrow channels of water, and scantily wooded. Game of all sorts, red and fallow deer, were to be found there, but the marshes especially were haunted by wild sea-fowl and fen-fowl, swans and ducks. The river banks were low. The water then flowed close under the palace walls.

Stephen Langton is said to have continued the building; but it is Boniface of Savoy, the turbulent, lawless archbishop, who with his own hand knocked down the sub-prior of St. Bartholomew's for resisting his demands, and was pursued by a wrathful mob to the doors of Lambeth, saved only from hurt by the coat of mail that he wore under his robes—it is this Boniface who has the credit of finishing the great hall and constructing the chapel. Probably he

did much more than this; for in 1262 he obtained a bull from Urban IV. permitting him to rebuild his old houses at Lambeth in a fit place, or to erect new ones.

By the beginning of the fourteenth century the archbishop's manor-house had attained considerable dimensions, though it seems to have been in continual need of repair. The purchase of tiles, "tile-pins," and "roof-nails," and the payment of carpenters, plasterers, and plumbers, are frequent items in the accounts. In 1321 repairs were done to the walls of the wardrobe next (*juxta*) the lord's chapel, as well as in the lord's chamber itself, in the chancellor's room, the room next the hall, the great chapel, the store-house, the bake-house, and another wardrobe. The hay-loft and the stable and the walls upon the Thames were also put in order. At this date a fruit-garden belonged to the palace, and also a "great" and a "little" garden, and the account includes a list of the seeds bought during the year—amongst others, cabbage, cucumber, hyssop and spinach.

Stephen Langton succeeded to Archbishop Hubert in 1205, but except for two years during which the Great Charter was won from the king, he lived in exile until the death of John. He returned to England after the Treaty of Lambeth had restored peace and secured the departure of the French, in consequence of Hubert de Burgh's victory over the French galleys commanded by Eustace le Moine, and the defeat on shore of Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, by the Earl Marshal. The Treaty was drawn up at Lambeth and attested by the Papal Legate, Henry III., and Prince Louis, whose names are followed by those of Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar, and William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. Amongst the names of the great nobles occurs that of Falk de Breauté, the unscrupulous foreign adventurer,

from whom the neighbouring manor of Vauxhall took its name. Falk, however, appears to have been in no hurry to carry out his part in the agreement, for the king wrote to him from Lambeth in the following month, commanding him to release, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty, Osbert, the son of Nigel, whom he was still keeping captive.

In 1231 Henry III. spent Christmas at Lambeth, Hubert de Burgh providing all things necessary for the festivities, and in the following year the king held a council there. Councils of the clergy and convocations of the Province of Canterbury were held in the great hall. Aids and subsidies were voted to the king at these assemblies, and matters of Church government were there treated, often in defiance of the royal claims. In 1281, in a council at Lambeth, Archbishop Peckham proposed to confine suits on patronage to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to prevent the royal courts from interfering in cases concerning the chattels of the spiritualty. Before they had assembled, however, Edward I. wrote to the archbishop and clergy reminding them of their oaths of fealty, and warning them, on pain of losing the temporalities they held from him, to do nothing to prejudice the royal dignity. At the same time he deputed four laymen to be present in order to protest against anything they judged contrary to the interests of the Crown, and in the end Peckham had to give in.

In 1408 all the members of the convocation, and many others "eminent in every branch of literature," were entertained at Lambeth by Archbishop Arundel "with elegance and great profusion of viands." It was also in the great hall that the consecration banquets took place at the cost of the newly created bishop: the most famous for splendour

being that of William of Wykeham, who, though consecrated at St. Paul's, held the festivities at Lambeth.

In 1345, John de Montfort, Duke of Brittany, did homage to Edward III. in the archbishop's palace of Lambeth, and it is related that on May 20, the Friday in the week of Pentecost, in the presence of the archbishop John Stratford, of Robert de Sadington the chancellor, William de Addington the treasurer, of Bartholomew de Burghersh, John de St. Pol and John Darcy keeper of the rolls of Chancery, and of many other nobles, he addressed the king in these words: "My lord, I acknowledge you to be the rightful King of France, and I do homage to you as my liege lord and the rightful King of France for the Duchy of Brittany, which I claim to hold from you, my lord, and I become your liege man in life and member, and to keep faith in life and death against all people." Shortly after this, Edward III. went himself to Brittany to uphold his "liege man's" cause against Charles de Blois, whose claims were supported by the King of France.

Many of the archbishops of Canterbury were lord chancellors; amongst whom were Thomas Becket, Hubert Walter, Simon Sudbury, and William Warham, while several have filled the office of lord treasurer. That of justiciar was held by Radulphus at the beginning, and by Hubert Walter at the end of the twelfth century. There are several allusions to the presence of the Great Seal at Lambeth. On one occasion, "after the sealing," it was left with Walter Reynolds, archbishop-elect, at his manor of Lambeth "under the seals of Adam de Osgodeby, Robert de Bardelby, and William de Ayremynn," and the next day the archbishop took it to the king at Shene. Again, on December 8, 1339, it was brought in a bag at sunrise to Lambeth by Sir John

de Wodehouse and Sir Gilbert de Kitchill, steward of the household to the Bishop of London, who had died that night, and was delivered to Archbishop John Stratford, while in the following year the king gave the seal to the same archbishop, who took it to Lambeth "and caused charters, letters patent, and writs to be sealed therewith on the morrow."

In 1378, John Wycliffe was summoned from Oxford to Lambeth to answer for his doctrine before Archbishop Sudbury. On learning of this, Joan, the widow of the Black Prince and mother of the king, sent to the archbishop bidding him not to pass sentence upon the preacher. Wycliffe, however, obeyed the summons, and appeared on trial in Lambeth Chapel, but the citizens of London forced their way in, and interrupted the proceedings. Archbishop Sudbury, gentle and well-meaning, but unable to grapple with the situation from either point of view, incurred both the resentment of the people and the disapprobation of the clergy. To the first, he represented the opposition to Wycliffe; to the other, his actions appeared half-hearted and lacking in conviction.

The feeling on both sides was fierce, and the spirit of angry criticism, encouraged by Lollardry, probably gave an added impulse to the peasants' revolt under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. But it was as lord chancellor, rather than as the antagonist of the Lollards, that the archbishop was an object of hatred and distrust to the insurgents. A contemporary poem of alternate English and Latin lines describes the rise of this ragged army in Kent and their progress towards London, brandishing weapons and attacking the manor-houses that lay in their path. On the night of the 13th of June, 1381, a detachment of the rebels who were

camping on Blackheath, marched to Lambeth Palace, sacked and set fire to it, burning all the goods and books they could lay hands on. The archbishop was in the Tower with the young king, and two days later, while Richard II. was treating with the rebels at Mile End, Wat Tyler and a band of his followers made their way to the Tower, and with a show of boisterous friendliness to the guard they pushed in. They found the archbishop in the chapel, who faced them unflinching, replying to their outcry: "Here am I, your archbishop, and no traitor or spoiler." The rebels seized him, dragged him out on to Tower Hill, and there beheaded him.

Sudbury's successor, Archbishop Courtney, who was a man of much greater determination, showed himself uncompromising in his dealings with Lollardry, and in June, 1382, he summoned to Lambeth the chancellor himself, Dr. Robert Rygge, for favouring Wycliffe. Not only had Dr. Rygge permitted Wycliffe to preach, but he had been present at the sermon, and had shown himself in friendly conversation with the preacher afterwards. The chancellor acknowledged his fault, asking for pardon on his knees, and he was forgiven at the intercession of William of Wykeham.

The Water Tower was supposed to have served as a prison for the Lollards, and even now is generally known as the Lollards' Tower, while the wooden pillar in the centre of the large room of the ground floor used to be pointed out as a "whipping-post" for heretics. There is, however, no truth in this. The pillar was put up to support the middle beam of the ceiling, about the beginning of the eighteenth century; and, though the archbishops had a prison in their palace, there is no evidence that the Lollards were ever shut up there.

The tower was erected by Archbishop Chichele, at the

HENRY CHICHELE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
From the window in All Souls' College, Oxford.

west entrance of the chapel on the site of an older building which was pulled down to make room for it. The turret-chamber and winding-stair, which are practically a part of Chichele's tower, are considered to be of a far earlier date. The stair is of wood, originally of oak, but now repaired with deal, and mounts round and round up to a small square room with double doors. The last few steps are very dark and steep, and very narrow. The room is dimly lighted by two small windows facing north and west; iron rings are fastened in a line round the grey walls, to which the prisoners used to be chained, and the stonework is cut with names and brief ejaculatory prayers. A great open fire-place on the north wall faces the doorway.

The items of expenditure for the building of the Water Tower are entered in the bailiff's account for 1435. According to this, the pulling down of the old stone walls and the digging of the new foundations took five days. Rag-stone was procured from Kent, and all materials were brought by boat, including iron bars for the windows, window-stones, paving-tiles, and "ostrycch bord, called waynscot"; the cost of carriage being added to the price in each case. One shilling a day for eight days was paid to the glass-maker from whom the windows were bought, and who put them in.

On the north side of the "post-room" a door led to the river-stairs, from which the archbishops entered their barges. This was probably a rather more private exit from the palace than the landing-stage, or "bridge" as it is called in the documents, which had been built in 1424-5, at the palace entrance. This landing-stage and another "bridge" on the shore of the Thames were both mended in the following year. About this time a water-gate and flood-gate were

repaired, and work was needed in the cloisters, the ewery, the seneschal's room, and the audience chamber.

Lambeth Palace suffered considerably during the Wars of the Roses; and when John Morton, Bishop of Ely, was made archbishop in 1486, the buildings were falling into serious disrepair. Morton, who had been imprisoned by Richard III., had conceived the plan of uniting the York and Lancastrian parties by the marriage of Henry Tudor and Elizabeth of York, and after the accession of Henry VII. he became the king's chief minister. His name is associated with a trick of extorting money, which was known as Morton's fork or crutch, and by which he helped to replenish the empty treasury. To those who lived lavishly, he pointed out that if they could afford to spend so much they could afford to be generous to the king; to those who made no display, he urged that so much economy represented so much saving, and they, too, had no excuse for not contributing to the exchequer with an open hand.

Archbishop Morton, who was afterwards made also a cardinal, besides repairing the palace, built its present gateway which stands at right angles to the old parish church of St. Mary. In the centre is a large pointed arched doorway, and beside it a small one, while on either hand rise massive towers of red brick. Rooms in these were sometimes used as prisons or places of temporary custody, but the first floor of the western tower is said to have been Cardinal Morton's sitting-room.

Sir Thomas More, as a child, was taken into the cardinal's household, and appears to have been a boy of high spirits as well as of unusual intelligence. "Though he was young, yet he would at Christmas suddenly sometimes step in among the players, and, never studying the matter, make a part of

his own there presently among them, which gave the audience more sport than all the other performers." The cardinal, who afterwards sent More to Oxford, delighted "in his wit and towardness," and would point him out to the nobles, who from time to time dined at the palace, saying: "This child here waiting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man." Sir Thomas More reciprocated his admiration, and described him afterwards as a man whose "conversation was easy, but serious and grave," and who was "eminently skilful in the law, had a vast understanding, and a prodigious memory." Bacon, however, though acknowledging that Morton was wise and eloquent, calls him harsh and haughty, "much accepted of the king, but envied by the nobility and hated of the people."

From 1503 to 1533 the Archbishop of Canterbury was William Warham, the kindly humorous lover of learning, the patron of all scholars in general and of Erasmus in particular. He was so delighted with the "Adagia" of Erasmus that Lord Mountjoy, who had lent it him, could not get it back from him, and the archbishop sent £5 to its author for his journey to England. The first meeting, however, between the archbishop and the scholar was not altogether promising. It occurred during the second visit of Erasmus to England, 1505–6. He had lately translated the "Hecuba" of Euripides, and "by the advice of erudite friends, especially William Grocyn," he presented the volume to Warham. He and Grocyn went together to Lambeth Palace, where he describes being received by the archbishop before dinner, "with few words, being myself by no means a talkative or ceremonious person; and again after dinner, as he also was a man of unaffected manners, we had a short conversation together, after which he dismissed me with an

honorary present which he gave me when we were alone together, according to a custom he had, to avoid putting the receiver to shame or creating a jealousy against him." Erasmus, however, was disappointed in the amount of the gift, which he considered an insufficient recognition of his work. As he and Grocyn were returning from Lambeth by boat, "as is usual there," Grocyn asked how much he had received. Erasmus replied by naming in jest a large sum, and Grocyn laughed. Whereupon Erasmus inquired whether "he thought the prelate not generous enough to give so much or not rich enough to afford it, or that the work was not worthy of a munificent present?" Finally, having revealed the real amount of the present and persistently asking the possible reason of its meagreness, he received the reply that the archbishop's generosity had been checked by the suspicion that the book had already been dedicated elsewhere. "Surprised at such a speech, I asked how that suspicion had come into his mind, and Grocyn said with a smile, but of a sardonic kind, 'Because that is the way with you people.'"

In spite of this beginning, a warm and lasting friendship grew up between Erasmus and Warham, who proved a generous patron, and Erasmus spoke of him in terms of real affection, admiration, and gratitude. "Happy was I to find such a Mæcenas. . . . All who have gathered good from my writings must thank Archbishop Warham," he wrote on one occasion, and again: "The Archbishop of Canterbury did all for me that was possible. He is one of the best of men and an honour to the realm; wise, judicious, learned above all his contemporaries, and so modest that he is unconscious of his superiority. Under a quiet manner, he is witty, energetic, and laborious."

WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

From a picture in the possession of Lord Dillon.

Warham died of grief at the separation of the English Church from Rome and the king's claim to supremacy. He had been frugal in his daily life, caring nothing for splendour and amusements; but he had been open-handed to others, and at his death he was so poor that there was barely enough to pay for his funeral. His portrait by Holbein hangs in the old guard-room at Lambeth, now the dining-room.

Two sets of domestic regulations for Lambeth Palace, which were written in the middle of this century, give a detailed account of the archbishop's establishment. These are the statutes of Cranmer's household—part of which, however, were drawn up after Cranmer—and the statutes for the household of Archbishop Parker. The arrangement of the offices was no doubt the result of a gradual growth, and had been much the same for many years before.

All the gentlemen and yeomen of the household were under the control of the steward, the treasurer, and comptroller, and these "head officers" were expected to meet in the counting-house two or three times a week, "to take orders for the lord's service, and to redress faults and disorders." The clerk of the kitchen, who kept the key of the counting-house, was present at these meetings, and entered in "a great book or ledger" all the doings and decisions of the head officers, while a yeoman bearing a white wand, stood in waiting at the door, in readiness to go on errands at their bidding. Every one who was engaged to serve the archbishop was first taken to the counting-house, and there the rules were read to him, after which he took an oath to serve faithfully; and his name, the day, and the year were entered in a book.

The household was divided into a great number of departments: consisting of the bake-house, pantry, cellar, buttery,

ewery and "chaundry," the spicery, laundry, almery, kitchen, wardrobe, and stable. Besides these the palace had its own millers and butchers.

For the archbishop's personal service, there were the gentlemen ushers of the chamber and the yeomen under them. Of these one gentleman and four yeomen in Cranmer's time, and three gentlemen under Archbishop Parker, were expected to be daily in the great chamber during a week of attendance from between six and seven in the morning till nine at night. At the end of each week the gentleman usher, who had last served, handed in an account to the steward of those who had been in attendance and how they had behaved; and on every Monday morning the list of those who were to replace them in the coming week, and what each one was to do, was fastened up on the "bark side of the great chamber doore to be seene of every man, that none could plead ignorance of his charge." It was the business of the ushers to order the officers to prepare for my lord's dinner, and to look after the details of its service, to have a fire lit in the archbishop's room, and to see that torches and lights were there when required. It also fell to them to receive guests, and to take care that the guest-rooms "be made cleane, every man after his degree, and that they lack neither beere, ale, wyne, nor fyer and candles in time of the yere." If the visitor were "a man of worship," then "a cubbord clothe, a bason and an ewer, waxe and a towell" were also to be provided. Strangers were to be served at meals according to their condition in life; a yeoman with the yeomen, near the door of the hall, and a gentleman with the gentlemen, but if there were many guests they were to sit at one table. During the hours of prayer, and of the archbishop's dinner the great gates of the palace were

closed, and no stranger was admitted until the plate had been put away. However, if anyone "of honestie" should come at such times, he was put to wait in the porter's lodge, and the person he wished to see was sent for; while should he have asked for the archbishop himself one of the head officers was to be informed.

The archbishop's dinner was an imposing ceremony, and the more lavish the display and the hospitality, the more honourable was it accounted to him. A hint of stinginess in housekeeping was a grave accusation. It so happened that a report of meanness had been circulated at the Court against Cranmer, and one day as Henry VIII. was going to dinner he called Sir Thomas Seymour, who had been most active in spreading the accusation against the archbishop, and sent him to Lambeth on a message. On arriving at the palace the porter took him into the hall, "and it chanced that the hall was set to dinner. And when he was at the skreen and perceived the hall furnished with three principal messes, besides the rest of the tables thoroughly set, having a guilty conscience, recoiled back, and would have gone into my lord by the chapel way." On his return to the king, he knelt down and asked for pardon.

"What is the matter?" said the king.

"I do remember," said Mr. Seymour, "that I told your Highness that my lord of Canterbury kept no hospitality correspondent to his dignity, and now I perceive that I did abuse your Highness with an untruth. For besides your Grace's house, I think he be not in the realm of none estate or degree that hath such a hall furnished or fareth more honourably at his own table."

"Ah!" said the king, "have you spied your own fault now."

Nevertheless, Cranmer had made an attempt to curtail the

extravagant living of the clergy, and, together with a council of other prelates, he drew up rules for moderating their daily fare. According to these, an archbishop should not have more than six different kinds of meat at his table, or as many dishes of fish on days of abstinence; at the second course, of such things as custards, tarts, fritters, cheese, apples, pears, etc., four dishes were allowed him. "Of the greater fish or fowl—as cranes, swans, turkeys, haddocks, pike, tench—there should be but one in a dish; of lesser sorts than they—as capons, pheasants, conies, wood-cocks—but two." Of still smaller birds, an archbishop could have three partridges to a dish, six blackbirds, while of larks the number was not to exceed twelve. Anything that was saved by these retrenchments was to be spent in "plain meat" for the poor. The dishes of the rest of the clergy were restricted according to their degree, but scarcely anyone seems to have observed the new regulations, and six months later they were forgotten again.

The archbishop's dinner was cooked separately from that of the household, and the cooks were specially enjoined "to keepe my lord's privie kitchen for his owne mouth." The table was spread with all sorts of plate, "chargers, dishes, platters, pottagers, and sawcers," which after dinner were conveyed by a "yeoman of the squillery" to the jewel-house or wardrobe, except when supper also was to be ceremonious. The gentleman usher chose the cup-bearer, carver, and server and the waiters, and these accompanied the archbishop when he dined away from home. The duties of the gentleman usher are given in greater detail in Parker's "Statutes," where it is stated that he is to hand the water for the archbishop to wash his fingers before and after meals; that he is to see that all the gentlemen and yeomen are in the dining-room;

"that the tables be orderly covered in due time, at ten in the forenoon and five in the evening"; that the sideboard and cupboards are furnished with plate and glasses, and upon extraordinary occasions that he is to carve himself "for the better instruction of others."

After each meal, both in the hall and in the chamber, it was the duty of the almoner to collect all the fragments of bread, drink, and meat that were left, and having "diligently kept it from devouring of doggs," to distribute it to the poor at the gate, three or four times in the week, at his discretion. He was also expected to attend whenever the archbishop dined abroad "to take up every dish when the lord hath sett it from hym, and thereof to make sufficiently the almes dish to be given to the most needy man or woman by his direction, always the lord's tenant." Those dishes were excepted, however, which the archbishop sent to "strangers or other of his household." This distribution of broken meats amongst the poor, known as the Lambeth Dole, was started by Robert Winchelsea, who was archbishop from 1293 till 1313, and in a modified form it still exists.

Accounts were kept by the head of each department, and were periodically brought and submitted to the comptroller, who himself kept a book, "and divided it into certain titles, as wardrobe, stable, kitchen, board wages, journeying, etc." An example of the form of entry is given under each title, the following being a specimen bill for the wardrobe :—

"June, 1561.

Thomas Marshall asketh allowance for xx^{tie} elnes of canvas by hym bought of me. At viii$^{d.}$ the elne xiii$^{s.}$ iiii$^{d.}$ Item for xx^{tie} burden ruffles iii$^{s.}$ iiii$^{d.}$

Sum: xvi$^{s.}$ viii$^{d.}$

Probatur per me N.D.

Ultimo die Junii, 1561"

Under the title of journeying was entered the allowance for the expenses incurred by any servant who was sent away on "the lord's business," provided he reported himself before starting and on his return. If, however, the sum given him did not cover his outlay, the deficiency could only be made up by special warrant from the archbishop in form of a gift.

In spite of the lavish display and hospitality, precautions were taken against all wastefulness in the household. The grooms of the chamber were obliged to bring their torches every day to the ewery to be measured and weighed. The wheat was delivered to the bakers by "taile and weight"; and from every bushel thirty-two loaves had to be made, each weighing twenty-three ounces. All trenchers were to be cut as large as the loaf would allow, and no loaf was to be "rounded or pared, except for my lord's table." All loaves, however, could be chipped, and the chippings were the legitimate perquisites pertaining to the pantry. All the lees and dregs of the wine were put into a separate vessel, and part of it given to the "clerk of the sawcery" to make vinegar, the rest being used by the cooks "for gellies, pottage, and other subtleties." Only the empty vats, etc., constituted the perquisites of this department. The spices and fruits were given out by weight by the clerk of the spicery, and he was expected to "take heed to them daily, as some are tender and need of oversight." Here the fees were the empty pots of green ginger and the bags and boxes that had contained succades.

In the larder and kitchen the cooks were not supposed to take any of the skimmings from the pots for themselves until the household had been served. The empty barrels of herrings sturgeon, salt salmon, etc., were their property, and

also the skins of all the rabbits which were presented to the archbishop. The skins of those that were bought, however, belonged to the caterer, and the panniers of sea-fish were distributed amongst the yeomen, grooms, and pages.

According to the rules for the general conduct of the household, no member of it was allowed to keep more than a certain number of servants or horses, and he was expected to give sufficient wages and livery of the lord's colour. Special stress is laid upon the injunction against swearing and picking quarrels, and the marshal and ushers of the hall were to see to it, that there was no "wrestling" or evil language at the serving-board at breakfast. No dogs were to be kept within the household, and the servants were to refrain from "shouting, crying, or blowing of horns" at night. They were also requested not to break windows or doors, nor to pick locks without the command of head officers. Cards and dicing were strictly forbidden in any place but the great hall, and there only on feast days in the winter months and on the twelve days following Christmas.

In Archbishop Parker's time anyone who spoke to a superior officer without uncovering had his hat taken from him and nailed against the screen in the hall for every one to see.

When the archbishop was travelling with his household no one was permitted to ride "out of my lord's company," except those who looked after the sumpter horses and the purveyors who went on ahead to prepare food and lodging. Every one rode in the cavalcade according to his degree: "the head officers next unto my lord, except the cross-bearer; and next, after my lord, doctors and chaplains, and then yeomen: and after them grooms, pages, and males."

After Warham's death Thomas Cranmer became archbishop, chosen by Henry VIII. as one likely to further the

king's schemes. He was consecrated on March 20, 1533; in the following May he pronounced the sentence of divorce against Katherine of Aragon, and in June he proclaimed the validity of the marriage with Anne Boleyn, announcing it "in a certain well-known gallery in the manor of Lambeth." In April in the following year the commissioners for the oath of succession, including the Archbishop, Lord Audley, the Chancellor, and Thomas Cromwell, the king's secretary, sat at Lambeth to receive the oaths of those clergy, chiefly of London, that had not already sworn. Both Bishop Fisher of Rochester, who had refused the oath at the breaking up of Parliament, and Sir Thomas More, the only layman summoned on this occasion, were commanded to attend at Lambeth. On that morning Sir Thomas More went to Chelsea Church and confessed and Communicated. He departed gloomily, refusing to allow his wife and children to accompany him as usual to the riverside, "but pulled the wicket after him, and shut them all from him." Together with his son-in-law, William Roper, and four servants, he embarked "with a heavy heart, as from his countenance it appeared," and was rowed towards Lambeth. For a time he remained silent; then suddenly he turned and said: "Son Roper, I thank our Lord the field is won." William Roper did not immediately gather what he meant, but he replied: "Sir, I am very glad." Afterwards, thinking it over, he believed "that it was the love he had to God wrought in him so effectually that he utterly conquered his carnal affection."

Sir Thomas was the first to go in before the commissioners. After the reason of the summons to him was explained, he asked to see the oath, and it was shown to him "under the Great Seal"; then he asked also for the Act of Succession, which was given to him in a printed roll, and he read

the two, and compared them in silence. At length he replied that, while he abstained from finding any fault in the Act, or blaming any man who had sworn to it, yet his conscience so moved him, that, though he did not deny the succession, he could not in good faith take the oath.

The commissioners warned him that such an attitude would rouse the king's suspicions; and they showed him the long list of nobles and commons who had already signed. Then finding that their representations did not move him they requested him to withdraw to the garden. "I tarried in the old burned chamber that looks into the garden," Sir Thomas More wrote to his daughter, Margaret Roper, "but would not go out because of the heat." From here, presently, he watched Dr. Latimer strolling in the garden with other doctors and chaplains; "and very merry I saw him, for he laughed and took one or twain about the neck so handsomely that if they had been women I would have weened that he had waxed wanton."

While he was still waiting here, Dr. Wilson was brought passed him, and "gentilmanly sent straight to the Tower." But the Vicar of Croydon, who had formerly made some difficulty, now took the oath with the rest of the London clergy, "and had such favour at the counsel's hands, that they were not lingered nor made to dance any long attendance to their travail and cost . . . so far forth, that Master Vicar of Croydon, either for gladness or for dryness, or else that it might be known *quod ille notus erat pontifici*, went to my lord's buttery and called for drink, and drank *valde familiariter*." Sir Thomas was summoned once again, "when they had played their pageant," but he only repeated what he had already said, and refused to take the oath as it stood.

Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More met at Lambeth on this day, and More greeted the bishop, saying: "Well met, my lord! I hope we shall meet in heaven"; and Fisher replied: "This should be the way, Sir Thomas, for it is a very straight gate that we are in."

Bishop Fisher asked five days for consideration, and then he too refused in practically the same terms as Sir Thomas More.

It was only two years later that Anne Boleyn herself was brought to the Crypt of Lambeth, to answer "on the salvation of her soul," whether there had not been some lawful impediment to her marriage. The queen had been tried and condemned to death the day before, and in the hope that confession might save her and those accused with her she acknowledged that such impediments existed, particularly in her engagement to Lord Percy. Cranmer himself, who owned that he was "most bound to her of all creatures living," and who "loved her not a little," pronounced the marriage to have been invalid, and Anne was taken away again, up into the post-room of the Water Tower, and out on to the river-stairs, where she entered her barge, and was rowed down the river to the Tower.

Before all else Cranmer served the king; he supported him through the intricacies of his marriages, and gave some dignity to his religious enterprise. Henry VIII. never withdrew his favour from him, though Anne Boleyn's disgrace rendered the archbishop obviously anxious lest the king should change his opinions with his love, and in a letter of condolence to his royal master he expresses the hope that the king "would continue his love to the Gospel, lest it should be thought that it was for her sake only that he had favoured it."

Lambeth Palace was the scene of constant discussions upon doctrine and ritual: the Bishops of London, Durham, and Chichester, at one time resorting there frequently to confer with the archbishop. The Bishop of Durham had a book in Greek concerning the usages of the Old Church, which "divers times" he brought with him to Lambeth to support his views, showing it to the Bishop of Chichester, as they proceeded there together in his barge. And often when these three bishops had left Cranmer they would pace the gallery at Lambeth, and "were very earnest" in favour of the old usages.

Stokesley, Bishop of London, disapproved of Cranmer's doctrine, and refused to collaborate with him on any point. When the archbishop undertook a new edition of the Bible in English he sent portions of an old version to the "best learned bishops" to be corrected by them, and returned to Lambeth by a certain day. "The Acts of the Apostles" was sent to the Bishop of London; but when the day came his portion was the only one not returned. A messenger was sent to Fulham, and the MS. was delivered to him untouched, with the reply that Stokesley "had bestowed never an hour on it, nor never would," for he would "never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error."

Cranmer's opinions aroused the ill-will of other of his subordinates, as appears from the plot of the prebendaries and canons of Canterbury against him. On this occasion it was the king himself who warned the archbishop of his danger. "He put the book of articles [against Cranmer] in his sleeve, and passing one evening in his barge by Lambeth Bridge, the archbishop standing at the stairs to do his duty to His Majesty, he called him into the barge, and accosting him with these words: 'Oh, my chaplain, now I know who

is the greatest heretic in Kent,' communicated to him these matters, showing him the book of articles against him and his chaplains, and bade him peruse it." Cranmer then knelt to the king and begged for a commission to try the truth of these accusations.

Under Edward VI., the archbishop invited Peter Martyr, Alasco the Pole, Martin Bucer, and other foreign Protestants, who were persecuted on the Continent, to stay at Lambeth.

On the accession of Mary, Cranmer faced his fate. He was arrested, tried, and condemned. The archbishopric was sequestered into the hands of Cardinal Pole, and it is said that Mary completely refurnished the palace for his reception. The country was suddenly Catholic once more, and on December 6, 1554, the whole convocation of the Upper and Lower Houses proceeded to Lambeth, and kneeling before the cardinal, "he absolved them from all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies." Cardinal Pole died at Lambeth of a double quartan ague on the very day of Mary's death, November 17, 1558, and his body lay in state there until December 10, when it was conveyed to Canterbury. It was Cardinal Pole who is said to have planted the two fig-trees in Lambeth garden, which were still to be seen in 1806, while slips taken from the original plants are now flourishing trees.

Mathew Parker, who was chosen by Elizabeth to succeed Reginald Pole, was the first archbishop to be consecrated according to the Protestant rite. The ceremony took place in Lambeth Chapel on December 17, 1559. The east end of the chapel was hung with tapestry; the floor was covered with a red carpet, and the Communion table was prepared with a cloth and a cushion. Four chairs were placed for the four officiating bishops on the south side of the east end, and in front of them a bench covered with a carpet and cushions

on which they were to kneel. Opposite these stood the chair for the archbishop himself. Very early in the morning, Mathew Parker, in a long scarlet gown and hood, four torches carried before him, entered the chapel by the west door, accompanied by the four consecrating bishops, William Barlow, Bishop-elect of Chichester, John Scory, Bishop-elect of Hereford, Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, and John Hodgkin, Bishop of Bedford. After the ceremony a banquet was given in the great hall.

Judging from a list of the charges incurred by Mathew Parker "at his entry," the expenses of becoming an archbishop were by no means light: the fees to the queen's household and the "charges of consecration" amounting to £300, and the cost of enthronement to another £200. In the same document were entered the approximate sums spent on furnishing the palace. The bedding, tapestry, and carpets were estimated at £200, and the linen at £80; £120 was paid for hand-irons, tables, stools, chests, pewter, brass and all kitchen necessaries, and the household plate cost £40. A barge and its fittings were put at £20, and the chapel furniture amounted to the same sum. The armoury was supplied "according to the statute," with lances, demi-lances, corslets, rivets, pikes, bows and arrows, etc., at an expenditure of £100. Twenty geldings cost £80, and "the four great horses, according to the statute," £40. The servants, gentlemen, yeomen, and grooms were fitted out in new liveries of cloth and velvet for £80, and £40 were spent on the "necessary furniture" for the archbishop himself, such as silks, velvets, and furs.

During the years that Parker was archbishop, Queen Elizabeth frequently visited Lambeth, sometimes staying there two or three days and sometimes only remaining to

dine. On one occasion, her visit being in Lent, a sermon was preached before her by Dr. Pearce. A pulpit was put up in the quadrangle near the pump. The queen was seated in "the upper gallery that looks towards the Thames; the nobles and courtiers in the other galleries which form the quadrangle." The courtyard was crowded with people who stared at the queen as much as they listened to the preacher. After the sermon, a banquet was given in "the great room next to the garden below-stairs," all the rest of the house being occupied by the queen and her attendants. Nine earls and seven barons sat at the archbishop's table; at a second table were the comptroller of the queen's household, her secretary, and many knights and esquires; while a third was provided for the lord treasurer, the chamberlain, and State officials. The whole cost of entertainment was borne by the archbishop.

It was at the end of one of her visits to Lambeth that the queen took the opportunity to pay off a grudge that she had against the archbishop, who had absolutely and consistently refused to enforce celibacy amongst the clergy at her wish. The queen retorted by her famous insult to his wife. "Madam I may not call you," she said to Mrs. Parker, "and mistress I am ashamed to call you, so as I know not what to call you; but yet I do thank you for your good cheer." Madam, at that date, was the title of married women, and mistress that of unmarried women.

The queen, however, appreciated Parker's moderation and capacity, and on one occasion, when he had incurred her displeasure by speaking too plainly, she restored him to favour with a skilful publicity. The archbishop, himself writing to Lady Bacon, describes what happened. "The other day I was well chidden by my prince's hand; but with

one ear I heard her hard words, and with the other, and in my conscience and heart, I heard God. And yet Her Highness being never so much incensed as to be offended with me, the next day coming to Lambeth Bridge into the fields, and I according to my duty meeting her on the bridge, she gave me her very good looks, and spoke secretly in mine ear that she must needs continue my authority before the people to the credit of my office."

The archbishop's hospitality was extended to all-comers, and he commanded his servants to receive strangers with civility. At the same time, a certain decorum of manner was required, and conversation at meals was restricted to religion or "some honest and beseeming subject"; while, if any man spoke too loud, the monitor hushed him with a cry of "Silence!"

In 1561 an *assessus* of the bishops was held at Lambeth, and various articles of religion were agreed upon between them. Ten years later, on account of the archbishop's indisposition, the conference was again held there, and it was then ordained that the articles should be put into English and printed.

Archbishop Parker did a great deal to restore and improve the palace. He covered the great hall with shingles, and he built "the long bridge that reacheth into the Thames." A summer-house, originally built by Cranmer, but then almost in ruins, he restored completely, and he repaired also two aqueducts—one in the garden, and the other in the inner cloister for the use of the household. Besides all this, he devised drains leading underground into the Thames, "to cleanse and keep his house sweet."

Parker's successor, Edmund Grindal, was not in favour with Elizabeth, and she never went to Lambeth in his day;

but after John Whitgift became archbishop in 1583, her visits there were resumed, sometimes lasting for two or three days. In 1602, when "Mrs. Fowler's brother, Boughton," who served the archbishop, was stabbed at bowls by a page, Whitgift was said to be much grieved, and the queen came to Lambeth herself to comfort him.

Archbishop Whitgift was in very high favour with the queen, who used to call him "her little black husband, and called his servants her servants." He was even supposed to be her confessor and to know all her secrets, and "she never eat flesh in Lent without obtaining a licence from her little black husband." She was also accustomed to say that she had laid all the burden of her "clergy-cares upon his shoulders."

It fell to Whitgift to receive at Lambeth the queen's fallen favourite, the Earl of Essex, when on his way to the Tower. The night was so stormy that the barge could not advance with the prisoners down the river, and Essex was brought for shelter to the palace, the archbishop meeting him upon the river-stairs.

James I. visited Whitgift during his last illness at Lambeth, "and found him in his bed in a declining condition and very weak." The king remained talking with him for a little, and as he took his leave assured him that "he had a great affection for him, and a very high value for his prudence and virtues, and would endeavour to beg his life of God for the good of His Church"; and the dying bishop merely murmured, "*Pro Ecclesia Dei, pro Ecclesia Dei.*" And these were the last words he ever spoke.

Edmund Bancroft, who was archbishop from 1604 to 1610, founded the library at Lambeth with the bequest of his own collection of books.

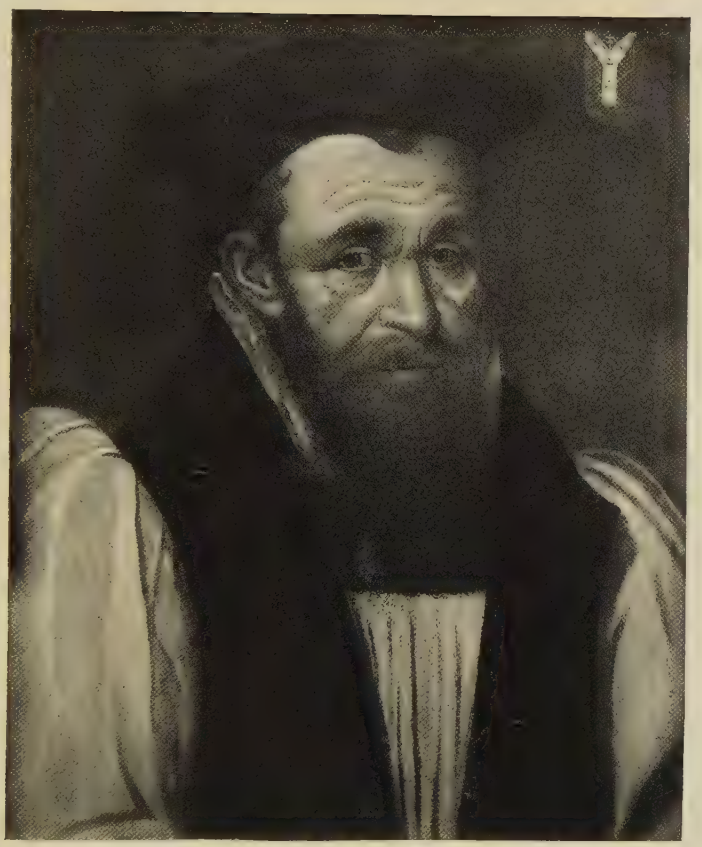


Photo. Emery Walker.

RICHARD BANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

From his portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.

The archbishopric of William Laud began in September, 1633, with what was afterwards regarded as an ill-omen. On his first arrival at Lambeth, the ferry-boat was over-loaded, and his coach, horses, and men were upset into the river; fortunately neither horses nor men were drowned. Probably the water was already low, for in the December of that same year, after a warm and dry season, the barges could not pass along the river. In the following winter, however, the inconvenience was reversed, and an unusually high tide caused the river to overflow, and the water came within the gates of the palace, and flooded the walks, cloisters, and stables.

During the few years that he was archbishop, Laud spent a considerable amount upon Lambeth, and in the very month of his election he began to repair the chapel and house. He put in a new altar-rail, a pulpit, and an altar-table; and "a piece of wainscot that parted the pew for the lords," was renewed. Mention is also made of the purchase of four "holdfasts" for the king's picture, and "lockers" for pigeons. Two years later the archbishop put new painted glass into the chapel, and blazoned the royal arms with his own in "the great window at the upper end of the hall." His arms again, with those of the see, were richly gilded over the chapel door. It was in this chapel that, in 1637, the Duke of Lenox was married to Lady Mary Villiers, Charles I. giving the bride away, and the archbishop officiating. Laud also repaired the organ, supplying it with three bellows, a wind-trunk, and a new set of keys, the pipes being gilded and the case painted "wainscot colour." He bequeathed this organ to his successor, on condition that it should be then left to the see for ever. The archbishop appears to have had a taste for music, for in his will he also

mentions "my harp, my chest of viols, and the harpsicord that is at Lambeth."

In 1635 he had his barge done up, and Thomas Babb, a painter, sent in his bill for "painting the barge with the six oars with state-room, laid twice a fair green in oil." The small tower adjoining the Water Tower on the south was built by him.

The unpopularity of the archbishop, which had been sullenly but steadily growing, came to a head early in 1640. In the April of that year Samuel Plumley, servant to one of the clerks of the office of Six Clerks, was heard to say, that if Parliament should be disssolved, Lambeth House would be set on fire, "and that they would keep his Grace in it until he should be burnt, and that thousands would say as much." On May 11, at midnight, a mob attacked Lambeth, but the archbishop had been warned and had barricaded the house, and although the insurgents were there for two hours, they did no serious harm. After this outbreak the king ordered double watches to be kept in the city, and a detachment of men on horse and foot were to be on guard round about Lambeth, Newington, and St. George's Fields.

Nevertheless a good many disbelieved in the seriousness of the popular feeling, and Lord Conway, writing to the archbishop in June, remarked that "if there were persons fitting to be heads to a discontented multitude there were danger if those men could not be secured; but he that fears any head that can be given to any discontented body here in England will be afraid, like boys and women, of a turnip cut like a death's head with a candle in it." Laud knew better than this, and he speaks of being daily threatened with ruin throughout the autumn. One evening, on going into his study at Lambeth to look at some MSS.

which he was about to send to Oxford, he found the portrait of himself lying face downward upon the floor, the cord broken. This seemed to him an omen of coming evil, but it was not till nearly two months later, December 18, that he was accused before the Parliament of high treason and delivered into the custody of the gentleman usher. He was permitted, however, to go under guard to Lambeth to fetch some papers. In his own account of this day, he relates that he stayed at Lambeth till the evening to avoid the gazing of the people. "I went to Evening Prayer in my Chapel. The *Psalms* of the day, Ps. 93 and 94, and *chap.* 30 of *Esai.* gave me great Comfort. God make me worthy of it and fit to receive it. As I went to my Barge hundreds of my poor Neighbours stood there, and prayed for my safety and return to my House. For which I praise God and them." For three years Laud was a prisoner in the Tower, and from time to time rumours reached him of the fate of his palace at Lambeth. One day he heard that Captain Brown and his company were in occupation, and that it was to be given up to public uses. A little later the news reached him that the soldiers had broken into the chapel and "offered violence" to the organ. Again, about a year later, he learnt that the chapel windows were broken and the steps torn up. In 1643, the archbishop was beheaded. He bequeathed all his chapel plate and furniture to St. John's College, Oxford, and all those books that were to be found in his study which the college library did not already possess. In a note written at an earlier date, he presented to Lambeth Library for posterity "a book in vellum, fair written, containing the records which are in the Tower and concern the clergy." These documents, which cover the years between 1292 to 1483, the archbishop had had copied at his own expense.

The pictures at Lambeth—both those he had found there and those he had added himself—and his barge, he bequeathed, with the organ, to his successor, should he have one. After his execution all his papers, both at Lambeth and in the Tower, fell into Prynne's hands, and were not recovered till many years later.

For twenty years after the arrest of Laud, in 1640, there was no archbishop at Lambeth. On January 5, 1643, the order was issued for using the palace as a prison; but it appears that it was already being used as such, and in the preceding December Dr. Alexander Leighton had been given the keys of Lambeth in order to take charge of those to be imprisoned there. Dr. Leighton had previously been condemned to the pillory and the loss of his ears by Laud, for writing a book called "Zion's Plea against the Prelacy," in which he "counselled the killing of all the bishops, and called the queen a Canaanite and idolatress."

A great number of the prisoners were confined in the small turret-room in the Lollards' Tower, and it was from here that Dr. Guy Carleton succeeded in escaping. His wife procured him a rope, and arranged to wait for him in a boat beneath the tower. One night Carleton squeezed through the narrow north window and slid down the rope; but it was too short, and he fell to the ground breaking both his legs. He was taken into the boat, however, and conveyed to some safe place, eventually escaping to France. After the Restoration he returned to England, and became successively Bishop of Bristol and of Chichester.

In 1644 Sir Roger Twysden was committed to Lambeth House for preferring "a seditious petition"; and in 1648 Richard Lovelace, the poet, was imprisoned there.

Pestilence and fever raged at Lambeth from the

overcrowding of the prisoners. Numbers of them died, while those that survived were weakened by prolonged illness.

The towers of Lambeth continued to be used as State prisons until the Restoration; and in the year before Oliver Cromwell's death a number of "obstinate and resolute fellows" were sent there who had been conspiring against the protector. The plot had been discovered "amongst the faction of Sundercome"; and Cromwell himself went down there for a couple of days, sitting up far into the night examining the prisoners, who refused to take off their hats to him and addressed him as "thou."

About this time Edward Dandy was the jailor at Lambeth. He had been serjeant-at-arms at the trial of Charles I., and besides reading the Proclamation at Westminster, Cheapside, and the Old Exchange, he had received the axe from the officer of ordinance at the Tower, with which the king was to be executed.

Even before this date the bolder tongues were beginning to foretell an end to Cromwell's prosperity, and it was seized upon as an omen when, in 1655, his coach and six horses were upset at the ferry, three of the horses being drowned and the boat and coach sinking to the bottom. It was then remarked that the same thing had happened to Archbishop Laud, and "unhappy people" made "idle observation upon it," pointing out that "my lord of Canterbury's coach and horses had been drowned in the same place a little before he was sent to the Tower."

Excepting those parts reserved for the prisoners, Lambeth House was sold, in 1648, to Colonel Thomas Scott, one of the regicides, and Mathew Hardy. A minute description of the building and grounds is given in a survey taken about this time by the Parliament. The "great stairs or bridge,"

evidently so called to distinguish it from the stairs by the Water Tower, jutted out into the river by the ferry, from what was called the Palace Yard, which was planted with seven elms and two willows. Morton's Gateway stood to the north of this space, and is described as having "one faire chamber" over it. To the east of it, then, as now, stood the porter's lodge, and to the west the "evidence chamber," both of these having rooms above them reached by stone staircases. The relative position of the gate-house, the Lollards' Tower, and the great hall was the same as at the present day, enclosing upon three sides an oblong court; the fourth side next the Thames being shut in by a "great brick wall."

At the north end of the great hall, between it and the chapel, which extends east of the Lollards' Tower, lay a square court surrounded by a cloister. In the centre stood a well, and this was no doubt the quadrangle where Dr. Pearce preached before Queen Elizabeth. The library of the archbishopric was over the cloisters. At the north-east corner of the hall were "a great paire of stone stairs leading up into the lardge room called the great chamber." This, which is now the archbishop's dining-room, used also to be called the guard-room, and from its northern end passages led, on the left, to the library, and on the right to the presence chamber. At the opposite end of the guard-room extended "a row of lodging-chambers" called Crooked Lane, which chambers were for servants, with chambers under them, much ruined; and apparently parallel with these, at the south-east corner of the great hall, extending into what is now an open grassy court, were the kitchen, larders, pantries, etc. Near by a gate led eastward into the stable-yard, next the churchyard, where stood the malt-room, corn-chambers, washhouse, and stables.

East of the chapel stood another tower, and beyond this were the dining-rooms, while further east again was "a fair long wainscoted gallery," with a terrace-walk beneath it, opening on to the garden which lay to the north of the palace.

The archbishop's apartments consisted of three wainscoted rooms leading out of this gallery upstairs, and three rooms under them reached by a private staircase. To the south these rooms overlooked the kitchen garden.

The flower garden, which was bounded on the south by the palace, "was foure square, and Walled about on the north and West sides with Brickwalls." To the east of it lay an orchard "sett with Apple Trees, Paire Trees, Plum Trees, and Moated round about." Along the western wall was another terrace-walk "paved with square Tyles, opening with arches" into the garden, and over this was "a fair leaden Walke with a Bankuetting house in the North-East Corner thereof." The gardener's house, consisting of three rooms one above the other, stood in the north-east corner.

The park or close, only about four acres in extent, lay to the east of the palace, and was also surrounded by a moat, except on the north side, where a wall divided it from the street. This park, which contained two fishponds, was planted with over 200 elms, forty-eight walnut trees, and half a dozen chestnut trees.

During the Commonwealth serious damage was done to the palace. The great hall was completely demolished, the chapel windows smashed, and the tomb of Archbishop Parker was torn up, the lead within the coffin sold, and the body itself "thrown into some obscure hole." The monument, by some chance, escaped destruction, and when Archbishop Juxon was repairing the chapel, Mathew Hardy

was summoned to reveal where the body lay, and it was reburied near the chapel door. Juxon rebuilt the great hall after the pattern of the old building, and in the three years that he was archbishop he spent about £1,500 in repairs at Lambeth and Croydon.

It was Archbishop Sheldon who recovered Laud's papers, and he commissioned William Sancroft to translate and edit Laud's diary and the history of his trial and death. Sancroft's election to the archbishopric obliged him to defer this work, and he did not resume it until after his deposition. He was at work upon it in 1693 when his last illness prostrated him, and he bequeathed the labour to his chaplain, Henry Wharton.

Sancroft was the head of the Seven Bishops, and the petition against the Declaration was drawn up at Lambeth. He was also amongst those who signed the order to Lord Dartmouth, bidding him take no hostile action against William of Orange; but at the first suspicion that William desired the crown for himself the archbishop drew back. State affairs were discussed daily at Lambeth; and Sancroft, while acknowledging that James II. was unfit to rule, insisted that while he lived no other king could reign, and William could only be regent. Nor would he permit his chaplain to pray for the new king and queen in Lambeth chapel.

On August 1, 1689, the archbishop was suspended; in the February of the following year he was deposed, and John Tillotson was publicly declared to be his successor. But Sancroft would not leave Lambeth. He dismissed nearly all his servants; shutting his doors against the world in general, he put an end to the traditional hospitality which entertained all comers. He packed up his books, and advised his

chaplains to leave him, but Henry Wharton, though he disagreed with him politically, refused to go.

In May, an order came from the queen that he was to leave Lambeth at once, but he declared that he would not go until the law compelled him. Early in June he was summoned to answer a charge of intrusion, and on the 23rd judgment was given against him. On that same evening Sancroft left Lambeth with Henry Wharton. Wharton was the first regular librarian of Lambeth Library, and he devoted his whole life and energies to learning. Besides editing Laud's diary, he compiled the "Anglia Sacra," the most famous of his many works. Wharton died at the age of thirty-one—only six months after his master, Sancroft—and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

In 1723 Lord Harley, afterwards second Earl of Oxford, and his chaplain, Thomas, went over Lambeth Palace, which they saw while their servants and horses were crossing in the ferry-boat, they themselves having "got over in a pair of oars." Thomas, who wrote the account of their journeys through England, speaks of Juxon's Hall as a "very handsome capacious room." From thence they went upstairs and through several apartments into the gallery which was the archbishop's private library. This gallery was hung with pictures which roused the chaplain's wrath by their lack of merit, and he was only mollified by the sight of Holbein's portrait of Warham which was hanging in another room.

An account of the dilapidations at Lambeth in 1737 shows that the cloisters were repaired. A vineyard by the churchyard is also mentioned, and so are the barge-house, brew-house, and mill-house.

According to a plan of Lambeth, made in 1750, the

cloisters round the court between the chapel and hall were still there, and what at this date went by the name of the "piazza" corresponded to the terrace-walk and gallery, from which opened the archbishop's own apartments. These rooms, however, were now given up to the housekeeper. The gardener's house still stood in the north-east corner of the garden, but the terrace-walk, along the western wall with the banqueting hall at the end, had vanished. A melon-ground had been made in the centre of the orchard, and the extent of the grounds is given as 12 acres, 3 roods, and 12 perches.

At the end of the eighteenth century Lambeth Palace was once more attacked by a furious mob. In the Lord George Gordon Riots the insurgents surrounded the palace, and it was only saved from them by the arrival of troops.

Dr. Howley, who became archbishop in 1828, demolished the great mass of irregular buildings which had grown up through the centuries and replaced them by a dwelling-house on a definite plan, spending on the alterations some £60,000. This part of the palace stands now, as it did then, eastward from the Lollards' Tower. It was Dr. Howley, moreover, who turned the great hall into the library, placing there the collections of Bancroft, Tenison, and Secker.

The great changes in the surrounding country had begun before this. In 1750 Westminster Bridge was opened after nearly a century of opposition from the citizens of London and the Company of Watermen. By degrees the marshes were drained; the meadows became covered with an intricate maze of small slums crossed by big thoroughfares. Factories arose; mills and wharfs were built along the river's edge, and the river itself was strongly embanked. The green fields have vanished, the game and wild birds have vanished, the

Duke of Norfolk's Palace that once stood opposite the church has vanished, and so also has the palace that first belonged to the bishops of Rochester and then to the bishops of Carlisle. The country hamlet has become a part of London itself, and the greater part of the palace has taken the form of a modern dwelling-house; but the chapel and crypt, the Lollards' Tower, the guard-room, the gateway, and the great hall remain as landmarks upon the highway of Time.

The Palace of Fulham

UNTIL early in the nineteenth century Fulham was a country village, famous for its market gardens and orchards; and at that time, when strawberries were in season, young women (chiefly from Shropshire) would flock there to pick the fruit and carry it to London, walking in by night, the baskets poised on their heads, and singing as they went. The way then into Town lay between meadows and the gardens of big estates.

The soil of Fulham was said to owe much of its fertility to the deposits of mud left each time the river overflowed its banks; but the low level of the ground also meant bad roads, and in the seventeenth century the inhabitants of Hammersmith (then in Fulham parish), petitioned Bishop Laud for a chapel-of-ease, as the way to Fulham was long and foul, "in winter most toilsome." In the preceding century, the few roads round Fulham are said to have been at times nearly impassable, two teams of horses being needed to draw a single cart. The duty of keeping the roads in repair fell on the tenants of land in the parish, and in 1576—7, John Johnson, a gentleman of London, was sued for not having done his share. Although it had been duly announced from the pulpit that the six days from June 18 to 23 in that year were appointed for mending the highways, yet he had not sent "any wain or cart fitted

according to the custom of the country with oxen, horses, or other cattle, two fit men and fit necessaries for carting things for this purpose."

At the time of the Domesday Survey, Fulham was thickly wooded, the forests being sufficient for the pannage of 1,450 hogs; while throughout the Middle Ages the woods and hedgerows provided lurking-places for robbers, rendering the wayside dangerous to travellers, to such a degree that on one occasion a certain Thomas was called to order for allowing his grounds "to growe so thycke with underwoods that it is a grett harbour for theeves." At the present day Fulham is practically continuous with London, and is reached by the two great thoroughfares of the Fulham Road and the King's Road; but there is still a broad line of fields along the river's edge, and in the midst of these stands the Bishop's Palace within grounds of some twenty-eight acres in extent, the whole enclosed by a moat.

The Palace is of dull red brick, ornamented with diamonds of single black bricks. The buildings are low, being only of two stories in height, and are constructed round two quadrangles. The entrance is through a wide arched gateway into the first and oldest of the courts, in the centre of which stands a fountain, probably on the site of the one mentioned in the Middle Ages. The outward aspect of the Palace gives an impression of combined smallness and dignity, but within it is a bewildering range of rooms and passages, with occasional apartments of unexpected stateliness. Between the moat and the river are now trim flower-beds and public walks, whence the dusky red buildings are here and there visible through the branches of the trees.

The Manor of Fulham was granted to St. Erconwald, fourth Bishop of London, by Tyshthal, Bishop of Hereford.

Erconwald, who was the son of Offa, King of the East Saxons, was bishop from 675 to 693, and he possibly built or laid the foundations of the first manor-house. The bishops of London certainly had a habitation there at an early date, and it was at Fulham that the monk, Robert de Sigillo, who had been made bishop by Queen Maud, was taken prisoner by Geoffrey de Mandeville, one of Stephen's knights. In 1255, Walter de Gray, the Archbishop of York, died there. He was taken ill, while attending Parliament, "weighed down by diverse cares, his mind weakened by daily fasts," and at the invitation of Fulk Basset, Bishop of London, he went to rest "from his weariness and fruitless labours" at Fulham, and here he died three days later.

Several patents of King John and Henry III. are dated from Fulham; and Ralph Baldock, author of the "Annals of England," who was bishop in 1304 and chancellor two years later, is said to have lived there much. Bishop Richard de Bentworth, who was consecrated at Lambeth July 12, 1338, was also chancellor; and a memorandum recounts that on the eve of the feast of St. Margaret, in that year, Sir John de St. Pol, keeper of the Chancery rolls, and Sir Thomas de Baumburgh, keeper of the Great Seal during the king's absence, came up from the port of Orewell, where the king had embarked, and delivered the seal to the bishop at Fulham in the presence of various nobles, and the bishop "caused it to be opened immediately after dinner and writs to be sealed therewith."

The expenses of keeping the manor-houses belonging to the see in repair appear to have been a constant and heavy burden, and in 1391, Urban VI. granted the perpetual appropriation of the churches of "Stebenheke, Fulham, and Hakeney, value 330 marks," to the Bishop's *mensa*. This

grant was in answer to a petition from Robert Braybrooke, then Bishop of London, who had complained that he was "put to great charges" by the "yearly influx to London of nobles and others, especially in parliaments and councils of the king and realm," and that the buildings on his manors being out of repair, he found himself unable to spend the necessary money on them. Some years later, permission was given to the bishops to sell certain of their houses which were half-ruined, and which they could not afford to keep in order, retaining only their palace in London, the manors of Fulham, Hadham, and Wickham, and the castle of Storteford.

The items of repairs in the yearly accounts give one some idea of Fulham Palace and its grounds at about this time. In 1387, John Padnoster, a carpenter, was employed to arrange accommodation for the bishop's cattle in winter, and the "lord's chapel" is also mentioned in this year, an iron saucer having been purchased for the censer. In 1402—3, an allusion is made to the hall near the entrance court, while 2*s*. were paid for cleaning the lord's room, and the other rooms of the manor, after the departure of the household of the Queen of England. This was Joan, the daughter of Charles II. of Navarre, who had married Henry IV. in the spring of this year. Another entry of the same sort occurs in 1439—40, after a visit of Henry VI., when the cleaning of the hall and rooms after the king's departure, took four days.

In this year, "shyngyl bord to repair and cover the hall" was brought from the janitor of Fulham Church. The palings between the "house husbondrie"—presumably the home farm—and the great garden, and those of the "vyne garden" were mended, and the bucket or basin [bogette] of

the well was renewed for 6*d*. This well is said to have been there since 1426. The larder, hay-loft, stable, and the "gate of the garden where the wood lies," were all repaired at this time, and five years later, half the cow-house was rebuilt.

In the reign of Edward IV. the shingles on the roof of the hall, apparently being insecure, were made fast, and a hundredweight of small stones were purchased in London and brought to Fulham to repair the roof of the manor-house, the bake-house, and the "reredos in the place called the servyng-place." The hall behind the quay was covered with shingles, and the tiles on the chapel were renewed "where most defective." The "reredos" of the kitchen was repaired with brick. A herche or frame to hold candles was bought, and also a corn-measure, containing about eight bushels, was procured to stand at the door of the house larder.

Many of the archbishops of Canterbury were first bishops of London. Simon Sudbury, who was elected to the latter see in 1361—2, was translated to the archbishopric in 1375, and his immediate successor as Bishop of London, William Courtenay also succeeded him, at his death, as primate. Courtenay, a man of determination and strongly defined views, was the opponent of John of Gaunt and Wycliffe, and it was he who braced the gentle, rather nerveless opinions of Archbishop Sudbury, and induced him to take clear action against the Lollards.

John Kemp, Bishop of London in 1421, was translated first to York in 1426, and thence to Canterbury in 1452, becoming at the same time Cardinal-bishop of Santa Ruffina; and it was at Fulham that he received the Cross and Pall, at the hands of his nephew, John Kemp, then Bishop of London.

It was also at Fulham that William Warham was made lord keeper of the Great Seal by Henry VII. in August, 1502, and it was there again that he was consecrated Bishop of London in the following September. Warham was translated to Canterbury two years later, and was succeeded by Dr. William Barons, who, at the marriage of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon in 1501, had been deputed to answer in Latin all the objections which the king's secretary was to put forward at the calling of the banns. His successor, as Bishop of London, Richard Fitzjames, then Bishop of Rochester, was also present at the marriage, he being one of the six bishops appointed to meet the princess in procession, and to attend upon the archbishop who was to receive Katherine at the west door of St. Paul's "in pontificabilis accompanied with suche bishops and abbotes as be commanded to come to the feste." Fitzjames became Bishop of London in 1506, and it was he who built the oldest existing part of the present palace. These buildings surround the western court, which is entered by the massive arched gateway. From the opposite side of the quadrangle, a squat tower of about the same height as the rest of the buildings, projects forward into the court, and a wide door under this tower led orginally into the great hall. A passage is now partitioned off at this end of the hall. This spacious room, which is 50½ feet by 27 feet, was probably not completed till the end of the sixteenth century. The armour or guard-room, with a fine square fire-place surmounted by four oblong carved panels, stands in the western block of these buildings beside the great gateway. Fitzjames probably also enclosed the kitchen garden with the venerable red wall that now separates it from the other grounds, for the bishop's arms are placed over the arched doorway that leads into it.

Richard Fitzjames died of the plague January 15, 1521—2, and was succeeded by Cuthbert Tunstall, who became lord privy seal in the following year.

At this period herons and spoonbills are said to have built in the grounds of Fulham, and in 1522, Bishop Tunstall brought an action against one of his tenants for taking these birds. The defendant held a lease of some twenty acres of land, which it is suggested may be identical with the seventeen acres of meadow by the river-side, extending north of the palace to Craven Cottage. The meadow called Pale-meade, described in 1647, is probably the same land, though it was then said to contain only fifteen acres "by estimation." The tenant of this land pleaded that as the herons and spoonbills had made their nests in the trees on his territory, he considered himself justified in taking them. On the other hand, the bishop retorted that the wood and underwood were excepted from the lease, and as the birds built in the trees they were his private property. The opinions on this case were diverse, some arguing that if the trees could be dealt with as distinct from the soil they grew in, the birds could be equally distinct from the trees they built in; others that if the trees were excepted from the lease, all that was appurtenant to trees was also excepted. Unfortunately, the verdict is not recorded.

Tunstall was translated to Durham in 1530, but during the reign of Edward VI. he was imprisoned in the Tower as a Catholic. Under Mary he was freed once more, but after the accession of Elizabeth, having refused to assist in the consecration of Mathew Parker according to the new rite, he was once more deprived of his see. He was not sent again to the Tower, however, but to Lambeth, where Archbishop Parker treated him with all courtesy, so that it was said of him, "he

showed mercy when in power, and found it in adversity, having nothing but the name of prisoner." Tunstall died at Lambeth, November 18, 1559, and was buried in the chancel of Lambeth Church. He was a most saintly man, and even Michael Wood, "the dealer in hard words," could find no fault with him other than his devotion to his religion, which, Wood says, "was much to be lamented in respect of his excellent gifts and virtues."

John Stokesley became Bishop of London when Tunstall was transferred to Durham. He had been confessor to Henry VIII., and attended him to the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Erasmus, writing to Paul Bombasius, speaks of him as "well versed in the schoolmen and intimately acquainted with three languages." Indeed, in describing the Court of England, which was frequented by such men as More, Colet, Linacre, Tunstall, and Stokesley, he declared it to have been "more a museum than a Court."

Stokesley gave his support to the divorce of Henry VIII., but he strongly opposed any religious changes, and not only did he refuse to take any part in Cranmer's innovations, but he attacked heretics with rigour. In 1535, a certain Richard Jonson and his wife, inhabitants of Buckstead, near Colchester, complained to Cromwell that "about Shrovetide was a twelvemonth" they had been brought to Fulham, imprisoned there by the Bishop of London, "and compelled to abstain from flesh till Whitsuntide, besides being so scantily fed that they would sooner have died." In spite of the fact that nothing was proved against them, and that the king commanded their release, they were afterwards taken to Colchester "and imprisoned worse than before." At first people helped them with charity, but were "so opprobriously said to, that they durst come no more." About Michaelmas,

however, Jonson and his wife escaped, but they dared not be seen for fear of the bishop.

Again John Valey or Faley, the parish clerk of St. Peter's, Colchester, and four others were examined at Fulham by the Bishop of London on a charge of heresy, while John Coole was also indicted there for his religious opinions.

In 1534, a grave scandal arose concerning the bishop and the abbess of the Benedictine Convent at Wherwell, and the abbess was several times brought before the council to be interrogated. Amongst other things she was asked whether she did not come to Fulham from her monastery "to make merry with the bishop, and whether the bishop did not "cause her to do on his kirtle to keep my lady warm, wherein she sat at supper." And again it was inquired whether the bishop and the abbess did not "sit at talk together so long in the night that her ladies were asleep."

Stokesley, who died in 1539, was succeeded by Edmund Bonner, the fierce persecutor of heretics, who was himself twice deprived of his see and imprisoned for his faith. He was the illegitimate son of Elizabeth Frodsham and a certain George Savage; but he seems to have always been known by the name of his stepfather, Bonner, a sawyer, whom his mother married after his birth. At Wolsey's death, Bonner became one of the chaplains of Henry VIII., and he was much concerned in advocating the king's divorce. During the first year of his bishopric, the Act of the Six Articles was passed; the tide seemed turning in favour of Catholicism, and in the following year Bonner was one of a commission to try heretics. However, on the accession of Edward VI., Bishop Bonner was commanded to preach at Paul's Cross in favour of the new religion. He preached, but omitted the Article of the King's Supremacy. He was

EDMUND BONNER, BISHOP OF LONDON.
From an engraving in the British Museum.

arrested, and accused before Cranmer at Lambeth of defying the king, and, being found guilty, he was imprisoned at the Marshalsea, Nicholas Ridley being made bishop in his place.

Ridley is described as a man "comely and well proportioned in all points." He seems to have been kindly and peaceable, quick to forgive and to forget injuries. The tenor of his day was calm and regular. Every morning, "as soon as his apparel was put on," he gave half an hour to prayer. Then he went to his study till ten o'clock, at which hour the household assembled for "common prayer." After this he went to dinner, "where he used little talk, and then it was sober and discreet and wise, and sometimes cheerful as cause required." He then went back to his study until five, when once more there were prayers, followed by supper. The evening was spent also in his study till eleven o'clock, when he was accustomed to go to bed. At Fulham he used to read a "lecture" every day to his household, beginning with the Acts of the Apostles and continuing through the Epistles of St. Paul, "giving to every man that could read a New Testament." The bishop, however, did not abjure all recreation; he was fond of "shooting in the bow and playing tennis," and often would engage in these amusements with Dr. Turner, the Dean of Wells.

During Bonner's imprisonment his old mother, Elizabeth Bonner, continued to live in Fulham, in a house near the palace, probably in what was afterwards the Golden Lion Inn, which was still standing early in the nineteenth century. It is supposed that this house belonged to Bishop Bonner, and a vaulted cellar approached by a trap-door and a winding staircase was known as Bonner's dungeon. A subterranean passage led from this house to the palace, and when the

Golden Lion was pulled down in 1836, Joe Hatch, a waterman, explored it as far as he could, finding there a number of human skeletons, packed away into recesses about eighteen inches deep.

It is told of Bishop Ridley that when he was at Fulham "he always sent for Mistress Bonner, who dwelt in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mistress Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying: 'Go for my Mother Bonner,' who coming was ever placed in a chair at the table's end, being so gently treated, welcomed, and taken as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present, saying, when any of them were there: 'By your lordship's favour this place of right and custom is for my Mother Bonner.'"

Old Mistress Bonner died during her son's imprisonment, "who, notwithstanding, gave for her, mourning coates at her death."

It was Ridley who ordered that the altars in his diocese should be done away with, "as occasions of error and superstition." Plain tables were to be used instead, and the absurd disputes which raged as to their position in the chancel, afterwards, laid Ridley open to the taunt: "When your table was constituted, you could never be content in placing the same, now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church."

Ridley's fall came after three years of dignity. At the death of the young king, he supported the claims of Lady Jane Grey. He preached against Mary at Paul's Cross, drawing a picture of the evils that would overtake the country if she were queen, and he asserted that both she and

Elizabeth were illegitimate. However, when he saw that it was a hopeless cause, he hurried to Queen Mary's camp at Framlingham, and asked for pardon. But Mary ordered him to be taken to the Tower, and he was conveyed back to town "on a lame and halting horse."

Ridley thus became a prisoner, and Bonner was released, once more to become bishop of London. The accusations against him were examined and declared void.

During the short time that he was again in power, Fulham Palace became a judgment hall for heretics, and on one occasion ten Essex men, two women, and a Dutchman were tried there and condemned to be burnt at Stratford-le-Bow. There is a tradition that, when examining heretics at Fulham, Bonner was accustomed to sit in a chair at the end of a winding path leading through a shrubbery, called the Monk's Walk, and it was in this garden that Thomas Henshaw and John Willes were flogged for defying him. Henshaw, who had already been in prison for some eleven weeks, was brought to Fulham and put in the stocks, "remaining there all night on bread and water." The next day the bishop and his attendant archdeacon discoursed with him, but the youth retorted boldly, whereupon "the bishop fumed and fretted that for anger being scarce able to speak, he said: 'Dost thou answer my archdeacon so, thou naughty boy? I shall handle thee well enough be assured.'"

Bonner then sent for two willow wands, and "caused him to kneel against a long bench in an arbour in his garden," and he beat him "till for weariness he was obliged to leave off."

Willes was treated in the same way, the bishop "having him to his orchard, there, within a little arbour, with his own hands beat him with a willow wand."

In after years some one showed Bonner his own picture in the first edition of Fox's "Book of Martyrs," "on purpose to vex him"; but the bishop only laughed, and said: "A vengeance on the foole! How could he draw my picture so right!"

The palace chapel was sometimes used instead of the church for the Administering of Articles to heretics: as, in 1557, when four prisoners were brought by Bonner's orders to Fulham, "and there in his private chapel within his house, he judicially propounded unto them certain Articles." Henshaw was also brought into the chapel for the same purpose after he had been beaten. The chapel is said to have stood at this time to the north-east of the eastern quadrangle, and Thomas Hankes, who had scornfully refused to be present at a service there, "came down and walked between the hall and the chapel in the court till evensong was over."

In 1555, the deprived bishop of Chester, a member of the reformed Church, John Byrde found an asylum with Bonner at Fulham, bringing with him an offering of a dish of apples and a bottle of wine.

On the accession of Elizabeth, Bonner was again deprived of his benefice, and nine months later, again imprisoned in the Marshalsea. During those last weeks of liberty his well-known figure was the butt of much mockery, to which, however, he was prompt to reply. Once, when walking in the street wearing his tippet "one begged it of him (in scoffe) to line a coat; 'No,' saith he, 'but thou shalt have a foole's head to line thy cap!'" Again, to a passer-by who greeted him with: "Good-morrow, Bishop *quondam*," he replied promptly, "Farewell Knave *semper*."

Sir John Harrington, writing at the beginning of the reign of James I., remembered the fact that in his childhood,

Bonner was still alive, "unbishoped and went sometimes abroad; but I was so young then, as I could judge nothing, and he was so hated that every fat, ill-favoured fellow that went in the street, they would say that was Bonner." Bishop Bonner died in the Marshalsea, September 5, 1569, and Edmund Grindal, then Bishop of London, wrote from Fulham to Sir William Cecil, describing his funeral. Bonner was considered excommunicate by the English Church, from which he had "never desyred absolution, wherefore by the law Christian burial might have been denyed him, but we thought not goode to deal so rigorously; and therefore permitted him to be buried in St. George's Churchyard, and the same to be done not in the day solemnly, but in the night privily." This was done because rumours had reached Grindal that several Catholics, friends and relations of the late bishop, had arrived in London "intending to honour his funeral as moche as they coulde," and he feared lest the people "to whom Bonner in his life was most odious, if they had seen flocking of Papists about his coffin . . . would have been mooved with indignation and so some quarrelling or tumulte might have ensued."

At this date the vines at Fulham were renowned for their excellence, the grapes having the reputation of ripening earlier there than elsewhere. As Elizabeth particularly liked this fruit, the bishop used to send her each autumn a present of the first bunch. It so happened, however, that in this year the grapes did not ripen as well as usual, and in a post-script to his letter Grindal expressed his hope that they would be ready at the end of the following week, when he would send some to the queen's majesty.

His hope was fulfilled, and the grapes were brought to the Court by a servant at about the date he mentioned;

but this incident was nearly the means of bringing the bishop into disgrace. A rumour had got about that one of his servants had died of the plague, and that three more were ill. Was it possible that with infection in his household he had sent a member of it to the Court! The bishop wrote an emphatic explanation. It was true that one of his men had died, but not of the plague, and none in his house were sick. "Neither would I so far have overseen myself as to have sent to her majestie if I had not been most assured that my man's sickness was not of the plague. And if I suspected any such thing now, I would not keep my household together as I do."

Bishop Grindal had been chaplain to Ridley, and throughout Mary's reign he had lived out of England. It was during his sojourn in Switzerland that he first saw the tamarisk-tree, a specimen of which he brought with him to England on his return, and planted in his garden at Fulham, "where the soil being moist and fenny well complied with the nature of this plant."

A good deal of familiar correspondence appears to have passed between this bishop and Sir William Cecil, and in 1563, hearing that the secretary was ill, Grindal wrote comparing the symptoms with those he had himself at one time experienced, and sending him a sealed glass of Thomas Gibson's balsam.

Grindal was translated to York in 1570, and to Canterbury six years later. He was succeeded in the Diocese of London by Edwin Sandys, a determined Protestant who had suffered imprisonment under Mary. Bishop Sandys was the owner of a "faire brynded dog" which had been given to him by Lady Rich, and was evidently much valued. Not long after his election, this dog was stolen from his house at Fulham,

and the bishop, hearing that it had been seen near Guildford, wrote to Mr. More who lived near there, and begged him to assist in recovering the animal; while Sir Henry Weston, the bishop's cousin, was also asked to be on the watch for it. Lady Rich was probably the wife of the Puritanical Lord Rich, whose want of orthodoxy was the cause of violent quarrels between him and Bishop Aylmer.

In 1576—7, when Sandys was translated to York, he recommended John Aylmer to the queen to take his place in the see of London, and when Aylmer arrived in Town, he "courteously entertained him at his house, and upon his desire assisted at his consecration," which took place on March 22. Moreover, when Sandys took his departure for York he left various articles in the houses belonging to the bishopric for the use of the new bishop. Aylmer moved by gratitude, impetuously declared that he would require nothing for dilapidations. He modified this generosity a little later, and said that "he would be contented to take £100 in full satisfaction for them." However, after a survey of his new estates had been made, he repented still further of his haste, for the repairs needed at Fulham alone amounted to £159 18*s.* 10*d.* But not only did he now require the archbishop to pay for the repairs, but he also demanded the entire revenues of the last half-year, from Michaelmas till Lady Day, although Sandys had remained bishop until Candlemas. A lawsuit followed between the two ecclesiastics, and the archbishop expressed his indignation in no measured terms, accusing Aylmer of "coloured covetousness, and an envious heart covered with the coat of dissimulation." The judgment was given against Sandys, who was required to pay £1,000 for the dilapidations.

Aylmer is described as "mean of stature, but of courage

great, and very valiant in his youth, which quality departed not from him when he was old": a proof of which was the cudgelling he administered in defence of his daughter's reputation to her husband, Dr. Squire, who, not content with neglecting her, plotted to cast a slur upon her reputation.

The bishop was hot-headed, truculent, and quick to take up any quarrel. Consequently he was surrounded by enemies, and tales were rife against him at Court. Nevertheless, he remained in good favour with the queen until his death, and it would seem that he had a certain charm of manner, and that, especially in his bearing towards women, he was gentle and courteous. As a young man he had been tutor to Lady Jane Grey, who regarded him not only as an instructor, but as a friend; and discoursing one day to Roger Ascham she said: "One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is that he sent me so sharp and severe parents and so gentle a schoolmaster; for when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it as it were in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened—yea, presently, sometimes with pinches, nipps and bobbs and other ways (which I will not name for the honour I bear them) so without measure misordered that I think myself in hell, till the time come that I must go to Mr. Aylmer who teacheth me so gently, with such fair allurements to learning that I think the time nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping because whatsoever I do else but learning is full of grief, trouble, fear, and wholly misliking to me."

On the other hand, Aylmer was a vigilent persecutor of all

who diverged to either side of the narrow line of the English Church, being as uncompromising in his dealings with Puritans as with Catholics, which led to passionate quarrels between him and Lord Rich, and afterwards with his son.

About 1580, Lord Rich, the son, was holding Puritanical meetings in his house in Essex, and giving harbour to a certain Mr. Wright, a preacher of unorthodox views. This Wright had been tutor at Cambridge to the Earl of Essex, whose sister had married Rich. Such meetings had already taken place in the time of Lord Rich's father, and had been the cause of "many great storms" between him and the bishop.

Lord Rich, the son, was no more amenable, and together with "his bastard uncle" and Wright, he came to the bishop's house at Fulham, and demanded licence for the latter to preach throughout the diocese. The bishop refused absolutely, unless Wright would submit to the English Church, whereupon "the lord's aforesaid uncle did so shake him (the bishop) up, that he said he was never so abused at any man's hands since he was born."

The matter came to the queen's ears, and both Lord Rich and Wright were tried for their opinions and imprisoned.

Aylmer was twice vexed by accusations of spoiling the woods on the estates of the see, and of unlawfully felling trees. On the first occasion, he replied indignantly that those he had cut down were pollards, "doated and decayed at the top." He owned, however, that he had sold timber to the value of £600 during the years 1577, 1578, and 1579; but then had he not also in the same time paid £1,800 to the queen, "besides his housekeeping wherein he had threescore persons young and old"? And, when at Fulham, he bought all his fuel. Nevertheless, in spite of such considerations, the queen forbade the bishop to cut down any more trees.

The second occasion was some years later, when a Court musician, called Litchfield, declared that the bishop had been felling the elms at Fulham. Aylmer was immediately up in arms. As a matter of fact, the trees in the park were in better condition now than they had been before his time. "And for the out-woods he did his best (both by suit of law and by diligent looking to them) to meet with the outrage of the borderers." He acknowledged with bitterness that much good timber had been felled, but that was the fault of his predecessors who had given to the woodwards a large grant of fees of dead trees, starvelings, sear, and decayed trees, under cover of which these men were carrying away all the sound timber. And thus not only was the bishop the sufferer, but all the blame was visited upon him. And what was more, this very Litchfield, who was accusing him, had asked for twenty timber-trees, and had been refused. Moreover, he appealed to the queen and Court to bear witness to the falseness of this rumour, for Her Majesty "had lately lodged at the palace there; where she misliked nothing but that her lodgings were kept from all good prospect by the thickness of the trees, as she told her vice-chancellor, and he so reported to the bishop."

Not long after this Dr. Pern, the Dean of Ely, and a friend of Aylmer's, was dining at "a great man's table," where much abuse was vented upon the bishop for felling the elms at Fulham. Dr. Pern waited his opportunity, and then asked how long it was since the trees had been cut down. "Some half a year ago," was the reply. "Then," remarked Pern, they "are marvellously grown in that time. For, I assure you, I was there within these four days, and they seemed to be two hundred years old." And he added point to his statement by relating the story of the queen's criticism.

In spite of all the bishop could say, and the defence of his friends, his innocence was only half believed, and the incident was not forgotten, giving opportunity for a taunt on one occasion when Aylmer was engaged in a combat of words. The bishop being involved in "a ruffle with a mad blade called Maddocks," an inhabitant of Fulham, punned angrily upon his name. "Thy very name," he exclaimed, "expresseth thy nature, for Maddocks is thy name, and thou art as mad a beast as I ever talked with." "By your favour, sir," replied Maddocks, "your deeds answer your name righter than mine; for your name is Elmar, and you have marred all the elms in Fulham by lopping them."

This John Maddocks was usher of the exchequer (*hostiarius scaccarii*) in Middlesex, holding also the offices of marshal, herald, and pleader (*barriarriore*) during the sessions of the itinerant justices. He seems to have been a turbulent fellow, and had incessant disputes both with the bishop and the townsfolk. With the latter he quarrelled concerning a passage to a piece of the bishop's ground. With the bishop he quarrelled about a pew in the parish church, and on Easter Day, when Aylmer and his men were at court, he entered the church "in a warlike manner with rapier and target," and disturbing the bishop's daughters in their seat, "there thrust in his mother and sister." Again one of the bishop's men, who was executor to the will of an inhabitant of Fulham, defrauded a certain shepherd of his legacy. Maddocks immediately took up the shepherd's cause, and appealed to the court of requests. The bishop asked the court to discharge his man, promising himself to arrange the matter. The court refused, and Aylmer sent for Maddocks, "who coming, angry words happened." After this "divers frays" also "happened," and constant brawls took

place between the bishop's servants, "who would not hear their master abused," and Maddocks and his men.

Before long Maddocks complained that he went in fear of his life, and he demanded a warrant to arrest the bishop's "*cutters*." He added that "his wife was with child and rested since the last assault (in which he had been wounded) in a very bad way."

The bishop declared that he had already bidden his men not to meddle with Maddocks, who had been the aggressor, and he enumerated a long list of lawless deeds which were laid to this man's account. Finally, Maddocks was summoned before the Archbishop of Canterbury and forced to ask for pardon and to promise "that he would ever after have a reverent regard of his duty towards the said bishop."

That Aylmer was tenacious of his rights even in trifles is shown by another story. Some thieves left in a ditch in Fulham a piece of cloth which they had stolen from some dyers staying at the Old Swan Inn. The bishop finding it, had it watched for a night or two, and as neither the rightful owners nor the thieves appeared he took it for his own. Some time after the dyers claimed it, and the thieves, who were caught, acknowledged it to be theirs, "but upon conference with learned lawyers it was found that the ownership of the cloth was altered and transferred to the liberties." One version of the story says that, though the thieves were hung, the bishop kept the cloth as his right; another relates that he gave *part* of it back to the owners.

Aylmer appears to have pursued all occupations with the same impetuosity and thoroughness. Amongst other things he was exceedingly fond of bowls, at which he used to play at Fulham on Sunday afternoons after evening prayer. "And herein he would be so eager that he sometimes had

such expressions in his game as exposed him to the censure of many, especially of his enemies." Frequently the bishop would be seen running after his bowl, excitingly crying, "Rub, rub, rub!" or "The devil go with it!" while some one wishing to see him when he was playing was asked to wait, as "it was a pity to trouble him lest he swore." He exerted himself with equal energy in putting his property in order, and he erected new buildings, repaired and added to old ones, restored bridges, cleansed ditches and sewers, and spent more on the estate than any Bishop of London had done for forty years.

Aylmer was said to keep "a good house"—that is to say, it came up to the requisite standard of magnificence and hospitality; and the members of his household numbered according to one account, sixty, and to another, eighty.

Elizabeth again stayed at Fulham in January, 1588, when she made a progress thither on her way to Hounslow "ahawking."

Bishop Aylmer died at Fulham Palace on June 4 or 5, 1594, aged seventy-three, and Richard Fletcher, the father of John Fletcher, the dramatist, was translated from the see of Worcester to succeed him. Fletcher, who had been Dean of Peterborough in 1583, had attended Mary, Queen of Scots, at her execution, urging her up to the last to change her faith. He is said to have been a handsome man, but of rather haughty manners. His pride, however, was "only in gate and gesture-deep, not sinking to his heart," so that he was "causelessly condemned for a proud man, as who was a goodly hypocrite and far more humble than he appeared." Shortly after he became bishop, Fletcher roused Elizabeth's wrath by marrying a second time, his wife being the widow of Sir John Baker and sister to Sir George Gifford. For six

months he was suspended from his duties, and when he was at last forgiven and reinstated it was said that the joy killed him. "Certain it is the queen being pacified and he in great jollity with his faire lady and her carpets and cushions in his bedchamber, he died suddenly taking tobacco in his chair, saying to the man that stood by him, whom he loved very well, 'Oh, boy, I die.'" Fletcher was at Fulham at the time of his death, which took place on June 15, 1596. It was during his short episcopate that the great hall began by Fitzjames was completed, and his dated cypher is placed in one of the windows.

From the lost churchwardens' books, quoted by Lysons, Queen Elizabeth twice visited Bishop Bancroft at Fulham—once in 1600 and again in 1602; but either one of these dates is an error, or else she was also there a third time, in 1601.

On August 1 in this last year Thomas Lowe offered his "poor house here at Putney" to Sir Robert Cecil, as he had heard that the queen intended going to Fulham on the following Tuesday for two days or more, and he knew well "that the receipt of my lord of London's house will not conveniently be able to receive such of her honourable followers as most commonly attend and are near her Majesty, whereof I observe Mr. Secretary to [be] the chief and principal."

This visit was unfortunate, for on August 9 two yeomen broke into the palace and stole a silver salt-cellar worth £4, and belonging to "the lady the Queen Elizabeth, the said queen in her royal majesty being then and there at Fulham and in the said house." The bolts and bars of the palace do not appear to have been very sound at this time, for in the following year another thief "broke burglariously" into the bishop's house at Fulham and stole "five carpettes of divers colours worth ten pounds."

Mr. Lowe's offer of his house to the secretary suggests that the condition of the palace made accommodation difficult for a great retinue, and two or three years later, when Bancroft invited Sir Fulke Greville to stay at Fulham, he limited his invitation, stating that there would be "lodging in his house" for Sir Fulke and two men, while the horses were to be put up in the town.

The repairing of the huge buildings on their estates was a burden handed down from one bishop to another, and a burden that was never permanently diminished. In 1598 Bancroft complained that he had spent £300 on Fulham Palace alone. He also compared in this year the revenues of the see with his expenditure, showing that he was £450 out of pocket. The income of the see was £1,000, but in first-fruits, subsidies, and fees for patents he had spent £570, while his ordinary charges for housekeeping, wages, and liveries, "which without offence cannot be well abated doe amount per annum to £760." Added to this was the cost of sending two horses to Ireland at the rate of £60 each. Former bishops, he declared, had made £400 yearly or more by the wood on the estate; but not only had Bancroft had to buy timber for repairs, but he also had to burn sea-coals at Fulham.

Between 1601 and 1604 the bishop spent £106 19*s.* 6½*d.* on repairs at Fulham and London. This included the "digging up, scouring, and covering of the kitchen vault" at Fulham, and the repairing of the landing-bridge, which was done by a carpenter and his man in two days; a couple of boats being hired for the work, and four labourers helping "during the ebb."

Bancroft attended Elizabeth in her last illness. Just before his coronation, James I. visited the bishop at Fulham,

and in 1604 promoted him to the primacy. In 1627 Charles I. and Henrietta Maria dined at Fulham with Bishop Montaigne.

William Laud was Bishop of London from 1628 to 1633, in which year he was translated to Canterbury. An amusing letter, dated from Fulham, was written by him, when archbishop-elect, to Sir Thomas Roe, thanking Lady Roe for a cat she had sent him. The cat, she said, had come from Smyrna; and while he expressed his gratitude for it, wherever it came from, he hoped she had no intention of scratching her friends with any token she sent them.

William Juxon, who was chosen to succeed him as bishop of London, was his great friend, and after Laud's arrest he went to see him in the Tower. It was also Bishop Juxon who read the service on the morning of the king's execution, and gave him the Sacrament. He alone of all the king's friends was allowed to be with him on the scaffold, and it was to him that Charles I. spoke his last word as he laid his head on the block—"Remember."

Juxon himself escaped all censure from the Parliament, although he was a bishop and for some years treasurer, the white staff of office having been given to him March 6, 1635. He resigned it in 1641; but for several years he remained unmolested at Fulham, where he was occasionally visited by some of "the grandees, and found respect from all, yet walked steadily in his old paths."

In 1647 Fulham Palace was sold by the Parliament to Colonel Edmund Harvey for £7,617 8*s.* 10*d.*; the deed of sale describes it as the site of the manor with "one private chappell, and all buildings, outhouses, dove-houses, barnes, stables, granaries, coach-houses, courts, courtyards, orchards, gardens, walkes, fishponds, pumps, water-courses thereto

Photo. Emery Walker.

WILLIAM JUXON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

From his portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.

belonging, and two foot-bridges, and one great bridge, and three closes of pasture called the warren, which premises are all encompassed with a moat, about two poles over, in most parts thereof flowes and draynes att pleasure, and doe contayne together within the said moate thirtie-six acres and a halfe by admeasurement." There were then calculated to be about 700 trees within the palace grounds. One hundred trees grew in the Green Lane next the moat, and ten trees in the hedge of this same lane. There were 240 willows by the causeway along the water-side, which, with the rest of the wood in the parish, were valued at £689 5*s.* 4*d.* There were osier and reed-grounds on the banks of the Thames near the landing-stage, and the royalty of salmon-fishing in the river within the bounds of the manor was valued at 30*s.* yearly. The demesne-lands were tithe-free.

Edmund Harvey, the son of a fishmonger, had himself been a mercer. He was one of the commissioners at the trial of Charles I., but he did not agree with the verdict, nor did he sign the warrant for the execution. During his possession of Fulham Palace he entertained Cromwell there with much display and magnificence, but shortly after, in 1655, he was arrested for defrauding the Parliament, and was imprisoned in the Tower. He returned to Fulham for one month in the following January on £10,000 security that he would return at the end of that time. However, his frauds were charged upon his estate, and he was definitely released in February, thenceforward living at Fulham until the Restoration. In 1660 he was tried as a regicide and condemned to death, but the fact that he had not signed the warrant saved his life, and the sentence was changed to one of perpetual imprisonment. Probably as Colonel Harvey had used Fulham Palace as his own

residence, the buildings had not been damaged in the same way as those of Lambeth and other episcopal dwellings; but, nevertheless, Bishop Sheldon spent considerable sums on its restoration, and he is said to have rebuilt portions of the eastern quadrangle which have since been pulled down.

Sheldon had only been three years Bishop of London when Juxon, then Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and he was promoted to the primacy. He was much in favour with Charles II. by reason of his political astuteness. Bishop Burnet, while acknowledging his charity and generosity, reproaches him with a certain falseness. His manner was urbane and cheerful to excess, and his actions hardly tallied with his expressions of friendship. Sheldon was also accused of regarding religion purely as a matter of policy, referring to it as if it were "an engine of government." That he was scarcely spiritual-minded was admitted even by his chaplain, Samuel Parker, who, while describing him as "very assiduous at prayers," goes on to say that he "did not set so great a value on them as others did," but rather held that the leading of a good life was more important than any worship. And he was accustomed to say to the young noblemen, "who by their parent's commands resorted to him daily, 'Let it be your principal care to become honest men.'"

The next bishop, Humphrey Henchman, had, while a prebendary of Salisbury, helped Charles II. in his escape after the Battle of Worcester. He is the only bishop who is buried within Fulham parish church. His gentleness and generosity made him much beloved, and thirty years after his death Bowack found that his memory was still held in such veneration "that several who knew him can't mention his name even now without unusual emotion." Bishop Henchman's successors kept up the tradition of open-handed

generosity, and under Dr. Henry Compton (1675—1713) the inhabitants of Fulham continued to relish the "bountiful housekeeping" and the charity they frequently received at the palace.

In describing Fulham in 1705, Bowack mentions the "private stairs to take water at" belonging to the palace, and he also refers to the library, which he calls very choice, it having been increased by gifts from Dr. Compton.

It was under this bishop that the gardens of Fulham Palace attained their greatest fame. He was an enthusiastic botanist, and many rare trees were imported by him and planted in the palace grounds.

"The gardens round this house," writes Bowack, "as they are now improved by his lordship are very fine and entertaining, and the kindness of the soyle and great plenty of water makes them very proper for the breeding of some choice foreign plants, of which there is a very valuable collection. There is likewise a small park adjoining, which with the gardens, is moated all round by a large canal well stored with fish; in and upon the banks of which are five or six choice physical plants not discovered to grow naturally in any other part of England."

In 1688, Dr. Compton was suspended from his duties by James II. for refusing to inhibit Dr. Sharp, Rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, who had preached against Catholicism, and he solaced himself by retiring to Fulham and devoting himself yet more entirely to his garden. Amongst the many foreign trees planted by him were the Virginian flowering maple, the cut-leaved jessamine, the Virginian sumach, and the red horse-chestnut. John Evelyn visited Fulham in October, 1681, when he saw the *Sedum arborescens* in flower; and in 1687, the Rev. John Ray, the naturalist, wrote an

account of the North American trees to be found there. A great number of these trees were still to be seen in 1751, when Sir William Watson wrote a statement of what was there, which was read before a meeting of the Royal Society. Some years later, 1793, the Rev. Daniel Lysons made a survey of the gardens, and he found the number much diminished. Amongst those he saw, he mentions two specimens of the cedar of Libanus, which had been planted in 1683, the larger of the two measuring 7 feet 9 inches in girth; while near the porter's lodge was a row of limes of obviously great age, one being 13 feet 3 inches round. Sixteen years after, Lysons went there again, and many of the trees he had noted before had disappeared, and of those remaining, many were decayed with age. The great lime, however, was still there, and at that time measured 14 feet 1 inch in girth.

Unfortunately, Compton's immediate successor, Dr. John Robinson, knew little and cared less, about horticulture, and he allowed many of the valuable trees and shrubs to be disposed of by the gardener.

Dr. Robinson was more concerned with the palace itself, and the year after his election to the see, he petitioned Archbishop Tenison for leave to pull down part of the vast building. He reiterated the complaint of his predecessors that the house was ruinous, and "for many years past has been a great burden and expense."

In reply, a commission was appointed in July, 1715, to survey the buildings, Sir John Vanbrugh, Christopher Wren, and the rectors of Chelsea, Kensington, and Barnes, being amongst the commissioners. According to their report, the bishop's request was reasonable. The portion he proposed to demolish consisted of "all the buildings lying north of

the great dining-room, with the bake-house and pastry-house adjoining the kitchen." Even after these were pulled down, there would still remain some fifty or sixty rooms besides the chapel, hall, and kitchen, and these, they judged, would be "sufficient for the use of the present lord bishop and his successors and their families." The necessary permission was granted, and the buildings were destroyed. The great hall was repaired in the middle of the eighteenth century by Bishop Sherlock, whose arms are carved in wood over the fire-place, and it is he who built the present great dining-room.

Richard Osbalderton, who died at Fulham in 1764, after being bishop only two years, left £1,000 to be spent on the palace, and Bishop Terrick, his successor, used the money to build a new east front terminating at each end in a squat tower and a suit of rooms facing the river. This last is described by Bishop Porteus (1787—1809) as "a very commodious appartment consisting of three rooms above and three below." The older chapel was done away with by Terrick, and several small rooms on the north side of the eastern court were thrown together to form another, 53 feet by 16 feet. It was fitted up with wainscot brought from the London palace in Aldersgate Street, whence the greater part of the painted glass also was brought.

When Bishop Porteus first came to Fulham, in the summer of 1788, an old accacia, one of Dr. Compton's plantations, stood by the venerable gateway. The approach to the palace was then a stately avenue of elms, 372 yards in length, but most of these trees have since been cut down. A walk, also for the greater part of the way under elms, led round the grounds including the kitchen garden and the shrubbery. The Monk's Walk and Bonner's chair were still

to be seen at this date. On the south side of the house an embankment had been raised to prevent the high tides from flooding the grounds, and along the top of this embankment was a public foot-path called the Bishop's Walk. This was the way to church for a great part of the inhabitants of Fulham, and Bishop Porteus considered that "they enlivened it with their numbers and their neat Sunday clothes." The schools in particular pleased the bishop's eye, and he declared that "the female children, walking two and two in their white dresses between the large green trees on each side of them, form the prettiest and most picturesque processions that can be imagined."

The great dining-room built by Sherlock, he describes as a very fine room, "of exact Palladian proportion, 36 feet by 24 feet, and 18 feet in height." The portrait of Bishop Sherlock was given by a friend of his to Bishop Porteus, and it was hung by him over the fire-place in this room. Unfortunately the floor had been originally placed on the earth, and Dr. Porteus found it to be so rotten that it was necessary to completely relay it, hollowing away the ground for three feet underneath. The library was then a gallery, 48 feet long by 12 feet 3 inches wide, with a bow window of 9 feet in depth, looking out over the lawn to a grove of trees partly planted by this bishop. A good library was the one thing he considered lacking, and he had once contemplated building one, even going so far as to draw the plan. But the scheme went no further in his lifetime; he left it to be accomplished by those who came after him, and he bequeathed to it his collection of books.

Dr. Porteus put Gothic windows with coloured borders into several parts of the house: at the foot of the great staircase, on the first landing at the end of the long passage

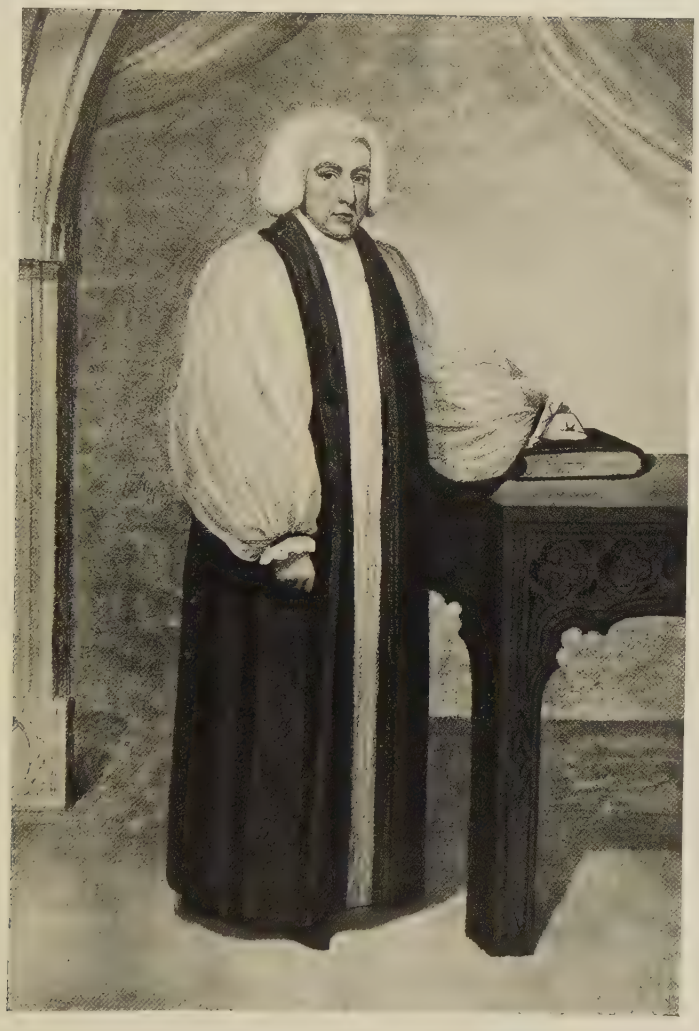


Photo. Emery Walker.

BEILBY PORTEUS, BISHOP OF LONDON.

From his portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.

which led from the hall to the lawn, and also in a small cabinet which he had "fitted up as a monk's cell near the library, and made use of in the early hours of the morning before breakfast."

It was this bishop who began to collect the portraits of the bishops of London since the Reformation, some of which hang in the dining-room and some in the library which bears his name. He also spent a 100 guineas upon cleansing the moat.

In 1814—5 Bishop Howley rebuilt the east front, sweeping away practically all the buildings put up by Terrick, including the towers, the library, and the chapel. On the site of the last he built the Porteus Library. He used the great hall as an unconsecrated chapel, sub-dividing it with a lath-and-plaster partition; but under Dr. Tait it was restored to its former condition.

Dr. Howley also altered and modernized the gardens—a work which was continued by his successor, Bishop Blomfield (1828—1856). Like Compton, Dr. Blomfield was deeply interested in botany, and the soil at Fulham gave him scope to grow various new and rare plants. He only erred, according to his son's account, in not being sufficiently ruthless with the axe.

In spite of Dr. Howley's alterations, he found a great deal yet to be done to the palace. The first of the courts was in a bad state of dilapidation, and he rebuilt one wing of it. He new-roofed the house and built additional rooms. Besides this he had the moat cleaned, the sluices remade, the river embankments restored, and he caused one of the water-meadows to be raised by several feet.

During the early days of his episcopacy, while he still had health and strength, many men of note used to frequent

Fulham, amongst whom were Wordsworth and Sir Henry Holland. Dr. Blomfield loved Fulham, and always regarded it as far more his home than the London house; and when his shattered health forced him to resign in September, 1856, he was permitted to remain at Fulham for his life. He died there in the following August, and was buried in the churchyard.

The development of Fulham into part of London occurred at a later date than that of Lambeth, and its character is essentially different. Endless rows of small flats and houses have been built, which have the indefinable aspect of being on the outskirts, while the activity of the streets appears to be to a great extent local.

In the midst of these surroundings the Palace stands aloof, separated from them by its age, its history, and its sedate beauty. Though it can no longer be looked upon as the country house of the bishops, yet, in the centre of its moat-enclosed grounds, half-hidden by the trees, it gives an impression not only of distance from the metropolis, but also of a certain remoteness from the present day.

Farnham Castle

ABOVE the main road from the south-western counties to the east stands Farnham Castle in the midst of a delightful country surrounded by heath and woodland, pastures carved out of its park, and hop-gardens sheltered by the slopes of chalk hills.

It overlooks the little market town from which it is approached by a steep but wide street lined by irregular houses save on one side near the castle, where the cottages stand in a neat white row, each with its flight of steps and green wooden porch. From the street the castle can scarcely be seen above the massive wall which encircles it, or through the dark boughs of cedars brought from the hills of Lebanon. One part only, the dark-red entrance-tower, built in the sixteenth century by Bishop Foxe, stands out prominently above the town. Within the walls are the well-kept beds of a peaceful garden whose southern slopes catch all the sun, while its northern parts are the turf-covered sides of the wide dry moat which surrounds the keep.

The house itself is built about a roughly triangular court, the grey broken walls of the keep at its blunted northern apex, the great hall occupying nearly all the length of its southern base, the old chapel and kitchen on one side, more modern buildings on the other. The castle plainly shows the vicissitudes of an existence which has extended over

many centuries. Here a strong wall has faced all weathers since the days of the Norman bishop, Henry; there the brick-work of Bishop Foxe's tower and the lofty chimneys above it call to mind the days of Tudor sovereigns; everywhere repairs and alterations, added wings and changed plans, show the gradual growth from the strong fortress of a Norman soldier-bishop to the comfortable home of a twentieth-century prelate.

Behind the castle is the "Little Park" which, in spite of its name, contains three hundred acres and has a circuit of some three miles. Its chief landmarks are a noble avenue of elms upon the rising ground to the east of the castle, and the keeper's lodge, formerly a bare and ugly building, standing out upon a mound, but now made beautiful by a surrounding enclosure of trees. The "Little Park" was so called to distinguish it from the "Great Park" of the bishop which extended further to the west of the castle. This was broken up in the time of Charles II., and subsequent enclosures and the sale of the woods and pastures thus formed have left the castle with the "Little Park" alone.

Early in the ninth century the bishops of Winchester had many an acre in the valley of Farnham; but it was in A.D. 858 that St. Swithun, then bishop, gave to Ethelbald his land there, and that the king agreed that at his death it should be restored to Swithun and his successors. At an early date there was formed on the hill-side a great earthen mound, protected on the north and east by a deep fosse, and on the south and west by the steep fall of the ground. Men sought its neighbourhood and gathered near the roadway below, looking to their bishop for protection and for justice. Even since British times a track had passed along the downs above the river-valley, and the road which now follows the

line of the village street still brings many a traveller to the metropolis from the great centres of the south, from Southampton with its busy port, or Winchester, so closely connected for over a thousand years with the little town in the valley.

A market grew up in the street; the townspeople were busied first with making cloth, and in later years the country around became noted for its corn and for the fine quality of its hops, preferred above those of any neighbouring parish. The townsmen began to begrudge the master of the castle his dues, his endless exactions for this service or that, and his tiresome demands of fealty and suit at court. They wanted to have a court of their own in which to settle their disputes, and they longed to be free burgesses as were the London merchants who passed through their town. Gradually the bishops yielded to their demands and gave them dearly valued charters. Then came a time when the stronghold brought the town more harm than good. It was the fortress on the hill that brought all the distress of civil war to the burgesses, and, Royalists as they were, they were glad to pave their streets with the stones of the keep which had brought to their town the hated Parliamentary soldiers. Now the bishop's home overlooks townsfolk who have forgotten even the bitter feeling of the last century, and the sight of the castle above them brings only peace, goodwill, and gratitude to the minds of the people below.

It was Bishop Henry of Blois who first began to build the massive keep upon the earthwork which till then had served to protect the town. He was a great builder; in 1138 he had begun to raise for himself at Winchester the stronghold known as Wolvesey Palace. Moreover, he was

a man of military knowledge and of great influence. As Papal Legate, his interest had gone far to procure for his own brother, Stephen, the throne of England, and he could not be content to have only one castle in the country when "there was no one of any worth in England who did not either build or strengthen some place of defence." So he set to work to build luxurious palaces throughout his whole diocese—then larger than it is now. He formed great ponds and aqueducts in difficult places, and at his palaces he kept all kinds of wild beasts, birds, and monsters which he brought from all parts of Europe. Under the care of so great a builder did Farnham Castle come into being. His work there consisted of a great shell-keep of massive masonry —that is to say, a roofless stone building with no other shelter for the men who formed its guard than was afforded by rough wooden penthouses within the walls. It was probably Henry himself or one of the two lawyer-bishops who followed him, who added to the south of the keep the beginnings of the triangular block of buildings which now form the habitable part of the castle. Although these were of a more domestic character, the kitchens, the chapel, the great hall and the narrow wedge-shaped "dungeons," (approached from the portcullised entrance to the keep by a steep flight of stairs) were all massive enough to resist attack.

Bishop Henry was much in need of fortified houses, for he took a very active, and not always a consistent, part in the warfare which made his brother's reign one long period of anarchy. In this great struggle he did not always give his support to his brother's cause, but he subordinated brotherly feeling to his zeal for the Church. Hoping to obtain an extension of the privileges conceded by Stephen,

he joined the Empress Matilda in 1141, when the king was a prisoner; but he soon found that he had been mistaken in her. The alliance was, therefore, not a long one, and Bishop Henry, true to the cause of the Church, turned against the Empress, besieging her in Winchester with a royalist force which doubtless included many tenants of his own from the neighbouring manor of Farnham. Subsequently he did his best to promote peace between his brother and Matilda's son, Henry Plantagenet, and received the latter with honour at Winchester in 1153.

There is nothing to show whether Henry of Blois spent much time or none at all at his castle of Farnham. In spite of his earlier relations with the new king, Henry, he was not left long in possession of the fortresses which he had built. Henry would not allow so strong a prelate to own many castles in his country, so in 1155 he made a pretext of the bishop's "secret" departure from England without his licence to seize all his castles, including Farnham. He destroyed six of them wholly or in part, yet Farnham seems to have escaped the general destruction. Bishop Henry returned to England to find his possessions bereft of their noble defences. He died, "full of years," August 8, 1171.

The lawyer-bishop who succeeded him was Richard of Ilchester. He apparently found time to continue the work of building at Farnham. Indeed, he erected in his bishopric such admirable buildings that the admiring chronicler writes that these "recall his name from generation to generation." Although his work is a perpetual memorial of his connection with the castle, he cannot have spent much time there, for as a justice he was constantly journeying about the country, and he also "had the ear of the king," upon whom he often attended. He entertained Henry at his palace at Waltham,

and their friendship was so intimate that he was chosen by the barons to go to the king in Normandy in 1174, as one "who would speak to him much more warmly and urgently than anyone else." The Normans even jeered at the barons in England for sending so important a messenger, saying that the next to come would be the Tower of London itself.

Godfrey de Lucy, his successor, was less fortunate in his relations with the Crown. Possibly he continued his predecessor's work at Farnham; but he had much difficulty in maintaining himself against the grasping policy of William Longchamp, who, while he was ill in France, seized the royal castles in his custody, and these were again taken from him by King Richard himself in 1194, upon his return from captivity in Germany.

Farnham Castle next passed into the hands of a foreign bishop, the Poitevin, Peter des Roches, who had the custody of it for a year before he was elected to the Bishopric of Winchester. Farnham, with his other lands and those of his fellow-bishops, was seized by King John in retaliation for the interdict; but Peter of Winchester was a favourite of the king's, and his property was immediately restored to him. While the whole of England lay under the ban of the Church he was one of the only two bishops who remained in the country; but his business did not lie in his diocese, and he was less occupied in defending the Church than in administering the affairs of the king. His enemies decried his greed and made a Latin song about the bishop who presided over the royal exchequer, rolling and unrolling the parchments, very zealous in the keeping of accounts, but not so zealous for the preaching of the Gospel, and ever crying, "Give, there is not enough."

He and his castles were soon to suffer in the cause of the

king. When the barons, angered by John's want of faith, invited Prince Louis of France to cross the Channel and take for himself the Kingdom of England, Louis was not slow to accept the invitation. He had captured Rochester in May, 1216, and had been received with great rejoicing by the Londoners—usually no friends to a foreign invader. Reigate and Guildford Castles had just fallen an easy prey to the French troops, when, elated with their victories, they arrived before the walls of Farnham. Its master was not there to defend it; he was hurling his excommunications against Louis from the camp of the fleeing king, and had doubtless passed hurriedly through the town with his master as he hastily retreated to the west. He does not even appear to have left a guard to hold Farnham against the French as his men did his castle of Odiham. Apparently it yielded at once to the French forces, which hurried on after the retreating king, leaving a party of soldiers to defend the castle.

While the French were in possession of Farnham, Peter des Roches was sharing the fortunes of his master, whom he faithfully accompanied until his death in 1216. Even then the bishop was not free to conduct in person the force which set about the recovery of his castles, but was obliged to remain away from the field of active warfare with his young charge, the new king, Henry. It fell to William the Marshal to reduce the French garrison left in Farnham Castle by their prince, who had again crossed the seas. The French capitulated before March 7, and doubtless made no very stubborn defence, for they were allowed to retire to London, which was still in favour of their master. The castle narrowly escaped destruction by the Marshal in the following month. It was the only one of the fortresses which he had recovered which

was not wholly or partially dismantled in fear of a second surprise by Louis, who had then returned to England and had forced a landing in spite of all the efforts of the men of the Cinque Ports. Perhaps Farnham escaped through oversight, perhaps through its comparative unimportance; for Louis himself did not think it worth while to attempt its recapture. As his army passed through the town with a great cavalcade of waggoners, bands of cross-bowmen and a host of well-trained soldiers, he was too anxious to reach Winchester as soon as possible to allow even one arrow to be shot against the walls of the castle so recently his own. So the French hurried through the little town and Peter des Roches retained his property.

He died at Farnham, June 9, 1238, after a long life of energy devoted to warfare and statecraft rather than to the interests of his diocese. Then for six years the castle was in the hands of custodians appointed by the Crown, and they accounted faithfully for all the details of their charge until it was wrested from the king with threats of interdict and excommunication by the new bishop, William of Raleigh. Raleigh had not much enjoyment from the bishopric that he had striven so hard to obtain. Probably he never saw Farnham, for he died in 1250, at Tours, where he had retired to eke out the remains of his princely income, greatly diminished by the bribes which had been necessary to secure it for himself.

Thus in the end the king had his own way and procured the revenues of the rich see of Winchester for a creature of his own—his half-brother, Aymer de Valence. Then, indeed, the castle had a wealthy lord, but one without learning or character, a man even ignorant of the language of his own monks at Winchester. The king had forced

him upon them, entering in person the pulpit of their cathedral church to preach obedience with mingled threats and persuasions.

There was no love lost between this foreigner, over-bearing and grasping as he was, and the people of England. It was quite natural, too, that the men of Farnham, who lived within sight of his strong castle and went there twice yearly to do suit of court at his "law-days," should learn to share in the general hatred for all "strangers." Subsequently they even took to beating the dogs of those who passed through the town, and struggles ensued with blows which occasionally proved fatal. Good Churchmen must have been struck with horror to see the approach of the cavalcade of armed servants of the "Elect of Winchester" bringing to the castle the unhappy official of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom they had brought with insults from Lambeth, not even allowing him to guide his own horse. Perhaps the townsfolk were too much over-awed by the stern ruler of their castle to give his prisoner hospitality, when at last, thrust forth as rudely as he had been brought in, he crept away, not daring even to look behind him for fear of pursuit, to find a refuge in the neighbouring monastery of Waverley. Yet it must have been whispered in the little town that his sole offence had been the excommunication of an obstinate priest, illegally thrust upon the Hospital of St. Thomas of Southwark by the bold master of the castle. No wonder if, after the sight of such violent deeds, the townspeople rejoiced when they heard how Aymer de Valence had been driven into exile from his castle at Winchester, and had died in Paris as he was returning. Perhaps the ill-will towards foreigners revived once more when, in the winter of 1424, there marched through the town a hundred and fifty prisoners of war, who had been

captured two years before by Henry V. at Meaux, his last conquest in France.

The years following the death of De Valence saw a great change at the castle. There succeeded as bishop, John Gervays, a warm supporter of the national cause and no friend to Poitevin or Provençal. He was a faithful supporter of Simon de Montfort, and probably the latter's troops hastened by his castle in 1263 on their way to the taking of Dover. The bishop himself was suspended in 1266 until he should have satisfactorily explained to the Pope his connection with the doings of the younger Montfort.

At this time the districts of western Surrey were even more thickly wooded than they are at present. They had always been well stocked with red deer, and the bishops, who doubtless loved the chase, had many an opportunity to hunt in the "forest" about their Surrey castle. Their "chaces" stretched far and wide, and the enclosures of their "Great Park" extended for several miles to the north and west of the castle. Beyond their park there lay the forests of Alice Holt and Woolmer, and it was here that a band of outlaws, supporters of De Montfort and the barons, took refuge with their leader, a brave knight named Adam de Gurdon. They took to the woods early in 1267 making raids on the lands of the neighbouring Royalists and holding the winding road from Alton to Farnham Castle. Doubtless the men at the castle, knowing their master's inclinations, sent help to his friends in the woods, or were blind to the loss of his deer in the park. Adam de Gurdon knew the forest well, for he had married the keeper's daughter and had received her father's office as her dowry. Unfortunately there is much to disprove the story of the chronicler, who tells how the young prince Edward, hearing of the bravery of this Robin Hood

sought him out and challenged him to single combat. The tale goes on to describe how the fight was for a long time equal, until the prince persuaded his bold enemy to surrender, and so save his life, and how he sent him to his mother, the queen, at Guildford, to receive her pardon. Certain it is that he lived to serve Edward faithfully for many years.

There followed a century during which the bishops often stayed at their castle at Farnham; yet little is known of their doings there. They were chiefly statesmen, and some, like the founder of the castle, Henry of Blois, helped to make and unmake kings. Bishop Woodlock, in 1307, had crowned the new king, Edward II.; nine years later he retired to Farnham to die. The agreeable chancellor, John Sandale, visited his castle shortly before his death, and perhaps had often stayed there before. Evidently his constable or keeper in charge of his home at Farnham was a relative, for his name was Sandale, and after the bishop's death he took for himself (perhaps in memory of his late master) sundry pieces of furniture, tables from the great hall and others from the steward's room, in addition to swans and stock from the surrounding estate. The worldly bishop, Adam of Orlton, played a prominent part in the civil dissensions of his time, and finally induced the king, Edward II., to resign his crown. Many bitter thoughts must have followed him to his retirement in Farnham, where he spent the last years of his life stricken with blindness. Another bishop, Edendon, was probably a constant visitor, for he made permanent provision for the maintenance of a domestic chaplain to officiate in the castle chapel, setting aside for his use the profits of a house in the Stews at Southwark and the rent of another house at Farnham itself.

Most memorable, however, of the fourteenth-century bishops is the great founder and statesman, William of Wykeham. It is quite evident that he had a liking for Farnham Castle, although he spent much time at all his palaces. He visited Farnham within a fortnight of his enthronement as Bishop of Winchester, and there received a deputation from the mayor and burgesses of the great port of Southampton, sent to plead their privileges. For a time Farnham Castle must have been in the hands of the Crown, for all Wykeham's temporalities were seized at the instigation of his political opponent, John of Gaunt; but after their restoration Wykeham paid many a visit to his castle on the Surrey borders. He took refuge there during the three summer months of 1399, while he waited in fear of his life to hear the result of the struggle between Richard II. and Henry of Lancaster.

A fitting successor to so great a bishop was the royal statesman and cardinal, Henry Beaufort, son of Wykeham's adversary, John of Gaunt. This patriotic statesman, whose influence was felt throughout the Continent, began his connection with Farnham by a renewal of the privileges of the burgesses who traded in the little town below his castle. He remembered them too in disposing of his accumulated wealth, bequeathing to his poor tenants in Surrey and Hampshire the lordly sum of 2,000 marks.

Less is known of the connection between his successors and their home in Surrey. William of Waynflete, who was distinguished by the uprightness and prudence with which, in times of great difficulty, he executed the office of chancellor, was a staunch Lancastrian. Perhaps he took refuge at Farnham in 1461, when he was fleeing into "secret corners" for fear of King Edward. He ruled at Farnham

William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester.
From his portrait in Winchester College Hall.

for exactly forty years, and died a venerable old man, August 11, 1486. It was not till the February following that the temporalities of his see, including Farnham, were delivered to Peter Courtenay, then Bishop of Exeter. The eldest son of Henry VII., the short-lived Prince Arthur, had been born at Winchester in the September preceding, and doubtless the town of Farnham seemed a convenient place for the dwelling of the infant prince, while his mother, Elizabeth of York, returned to the palace at Shene, and prepared for the great festivities which were to accompany her coronation. It is uncertain whether the prince's nursery with all his retinue of "lady-mistresses, nurses, and gentlewomen" was fixed at the castle or elsewhere in the town; but the good townspeople took advantage of his presence there to lay stress on the poverty of their parish church. The affectionate king at once established a chantry at the altar of the Virgin Mary in the north of the church, where the chaplain should yearly celebrate for the good estate of the young prince, and of his father and mother and grandmother. Thus began an intimate connection between Farnham and the Tudor sovereigns. Courtenay had fled to Henry of Richmond in Brittany when he feared the anger of Richard III. at his attempts to stir to rebellion the men of his native county of Cornwall.

Bishop Foxe, too, was the intimate adviser of the king, and thus the sixteenth century brought to the castle a time of gay Court life. Henry VIII., who loved the hunt and could in one day tire out ten horses, discovered that Farnham was an ideal centre for his favourite recreation. Moreover, it was a most convenient resting-place between two stages of the journey to Southampton or Winchester; so he paid many a visit there to his friend and adviser, Bishop Foxe, into whose

special care he had been committed by his father. Foxe was then building the noble entrance-tower, which still gives colour and dignity to the southern face of the castle. The king was entertained at the castle in 1516, and sat up till eleven o'clock one Sunday night writing to Wolsey an account of the embassy which he had just received from the Emperor—news which brought the Cardinal and the Bishop of Durham hurrying to Farnham.

The dreaded "sweating sickness" was rife in the summer of 1517. The king, alarmed by the death of the pages who slept in his own room, dismissed the Court and went into retirement at Farnham with only the queen and three of his favourite gentlemen, and, to while away the time, Dionysius Memo the musician. All public business was at a stand-still, while the king and Wolsey took refuge in the country to be free from the danger of infection; but in November there arrived two French ambassadors, the Bishop of Paris and Monseigneur de la Guiche. Henry received them graciously when they found him in his country retreat, but took good care that they should be lodged at a distance from the castle at the sign of the "St. George." They were feasted there on such delicacies as larks and curlews; while their retainers also appear to have been generously entertained, for among the items of their expenses at the inn is "damage done in the breaking of beds"—riotous conduct which could hardly be attributed to grave ambassadors, whose business concerned the peace of Europe.

Doubtless Foxe's home was also open to Wolsey, his life-long friend, who, far from being jealous of the bishop's intimacy with the king, often rebuked him for not visiting the Court more frequently. Wolsey dated from Farnham an account of the fight off Brest, 1512, but he does not show

whether he was then staying at the castle. He was himself to succeed his friend as Bishop of Winchester, but he was only master of the castle for the last year before his fall. In his time there was a custodian of Farnham—the king's friend and chamberlain, Baron Sandys, no lover of Wolsey. No wonder, then, that the cardinal, when he was receiving "fair words but little comfortable deeds" in the time of his disgrace, was anxious to arrange that the successor to the office should be "Mr. Treasurer." He wrote pathetic letters on the subject to "his only refuge and hope," Cromwell, but they were useless. Sandys remained keeper of the castle after it had been seized by the king, and the custody of the Great and Little Parks with the care of the garden and the office of ranger in the North and South Chaces were given to Court officials. No one could hunt within the neighbouring woods without fear of imprisonment in the castle, while its keeper was a man of a practical turn of mind and set his prisoners to the unpleasant task of pulling up the nettles in the park. The offices of custodian and ranger were granted out for terms of years, and difficulties sometimes arose through the claims which the local gentry thus acquired upon the estate of the bishopric.

Gardiner, the bishop who succeeded Wolsey, was a more compliant courtier than his predecessor. At the castle he gathered around him a household filled with affectionate devotion. His visits there were snatched in the intervals between energetic work throughout his diocese and the ever-increasing duties of his political life. He also entertained the king at Farnham; but Henry did not scruple to listen to the tales of a petty official, who, annoyed at difficulties he had experienced in trying to obtain the custody of the Little Park, revealed to the king all Gardiner's conversation and the

remarks which passed at his dinner-table at the castle on the important subject of the Pope's supremacy. The astute statesman evidently succeeded in making a suitable explanation of the views which he had expressed, for he was restored to the favour of the king, and was sent in that same year upon an important embassy to France. After Henry's death, however, he had need of all the consolation which the devotion of his faithful servants could afford him. He was imprisoned in the Fleet for his opposition to the religious innovations of the Council, and on his way to Winchester, after his release, he passed the night at Farnham. On the following day, a festival, he was induced by the discontent and ill-feeling—roused among the townspeople at the recent visit of the Vicar of Andover for the purpose of pulling down the superstitious images in their church—to preach to them a sermon on the obedience in which the Council had just given him "a good lesson and admonition." He was not long with them. A few months later he travelled to London from Winchester in a horse-litter, and a little while afterwards was imprisoned in the Tower. His loyal servants at Farnham looked eagerly for any hope of his release. Gardiner himself expected to be set free in the summer of 1550, and sent a messenger to the castle to summon men to prepare his house at Southwark. They were strictly charged not to disclose their mission to the rest of the household "for fear lest they being stricken with gladness should come straggling up" to welcome their master. They must have suffered bitter disappointment as day after day passed by and still he remained in the Tower; doubtless they were still more sorrowful when they heard in 1551 that he had surrendered all his temporalities to the king. The Council immediately took steps for putting Farnham

Castle in good repair, and apparently kept it in their own possession until Gardiner's restoration to his bishopric at the accession of Queen Mary. In June and July of 1554, there were held at the castle many anxious meetings of the Council to discuss the preparations for the queen's coming marriage. Mary herself is said to have stayed there on her way to celebrate her nuptials at Winchester.

The castle had been put into the keeping of a worthy housekeeper renowned for her good cooking. She provided Gardiner with such tasty dishes, and above all with such good cordials, that in his gratitude he was ready to connive at her heresy and even to protect her from the fury of others. "Sensible of the consumptionous state of his body" and of his health broken by years of imprisonment, he found "the physic out of her kitchen more beneficial than physic out of the apothecary's shop."

Yet another Tudor sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, took advantage of the convenient situation of Farnham as a resting-place in the progresses by which she grew familiar with her people. In 1569, her Court journeyed there from Guildford; with it rode the Duke of Norfolk filled with new hopes of restoration to the Queen's favour raised by the promises of his crafty rival, Leicester. Their fulfilment seemed near at hand, when Elizabeth graciously invited him to sit at her own table, probably in the great hall of the castle; but the jealous queen could not refrain from giving the unhappy duke "a nip" before the end of the meal, rebuking him for his folly in hoping for an alliance with Mary Queen of Scots, and bidding him "take heed to his pillow."

It was not long before Mary's wily ambassador, John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, was brought to Farnham, charged

with complicity in Norfolk's marriage-scheme and with the more serious offence of inciting Elizabeth's people to rebellion. There could scarcely be much sympathy between the fanatical Puritan, Bishop Horne, and his Scottish prisoner, who had been removed to more comfortable quarters at Farnham after a rigorous confinement in the Tower. He remained in the bishop's custody for a year and three months, very straitly kept and constantly watched by two of the bishop's gentlemen, without permission to speak to anyone save in his custodian's presence. Dr. Horne, with all his fanaticism, must have exercised considerable self-restraint to treat his prisoner as he did, "with honourable and friendly usage," while he was pleading with Burleigh for the removal of that "devil" or that "devilish spirit." The presence of a Roman Catholic bishop must have been a constant annoyance to so zealous a reformer. Meanwhile Leslie spent his time at the castle in compiling pious treatises of consolation to be read by the Scottish queen in her prison, and in drawing up a Latin address to Elizabeth pleading for release—a subtle compliment to her learning. In one point the two prelates agreed: they were both men of learning, and Bishop Horne may have spent at Farnham a part of the time devoted to his work upon the "Bishops' Bible."

His successors were free from the restraint of so important a prisoner, but they were not without the duties of gaolers. In 1590 Bishop Cooper was required to keep in custody at his castle the less dangerous recusants of the neighbourhood. They paid him for this enforced hospitality at the rates which were fixed for the entertainment of their friends who were lodged with criminals and debtors in the Fleet. While the castle was being used as a prison for those who defied Elizabeth's authority, she herself planned visits to it at a

period when her safety in more crowded places was endangered by Popish plots. Her last entertainment there took place in 1601, although, only six years before, the bishop had lamented that some of the towers of the castle were already fallen, and others threatened to fall, to the danger of the whole house. Just outside the town the Sheriff of Hampshire, who had been escorting the queen through his county, took his leave, perhaps not without relief, for he had been well snubbed at Basing. The Sheriff of Surrey welcomed Elizabeth and escorted her with all her following to the castle, where she was nobly entertained by Bishop Bilson. Some of the Hampshire gentlemen lingered with the Court after their sheriff had departed and were rewarded for their pains, for two of their number received knighthood from the queen at the bishop's recommendation. He had gained her favour by his learned defence of the Protestant cause, and so well had he fought on her behalf that he had become the acknowledged "commander-in-chief of the spiritual warfare." The death of Elizabeth did not put an end to the royal visits to Farnham. Under the Stuart sovereigns they increased. In the very first year of his reign, James I. stayed with his queen at Dr. Bilson's "hospitable residence." The king took a great fancy to the castle, with its wide parks and its convenient neighbourhood to the bailiwick of north-west Surrey, which he insisted upon calling a part of his forest of Windsor. The house would be an ideal centre for his hunting parties; so he took a lease of it for the bishop's life, and many subsequent summers brought the royal party to this pleasant retreat. Yet all did not go smoothly at the new abode. The parks had been ill-kept, the lodges were out of repair, and the neighbours had pulled down the palings for firewood. The famous surveyor, John Norden, had to be

called in to restore order in the wide-spreading chaces before the visit of the royal party in June, 1609; and Ramsay, then Viscount Haddington, was installed as constable of the castle and master of the game. The king and queen arrived on June 1, but the night was one of alarm. Some unknown negligent person had left a candle on a post in the stables. It fell into the litter and set fire to the buildings. The whole household was roused at ten o'clock, and many set to work to save the royal horses. Some faithful courtiers, however, kept watch with the king, for besides spreading unfounded reports of some new gunpowder plot, people were suggesting that the fire was a ruse to draw away the king's attendants, and so leave him unprotected against the evil practices of his enemies.

The country folk did not always appreciate these costly journeys of the Court. In 1615 they were impoverished by a hard winter followed by a hot, dry summer, which spoilt their crops, while producing the finest grapes and melons known in England for many years before. They begged King James not to make his progress through their counties, but he remained obstinate. On his return journey he stayed at Farnham Castle, and showed his gratitude to Bishop Bilson by appointing him one of his privy council. Bilson only lived one year to enjoy his new honour, but the termination of his lease did not put an end to the king's visits. In the time of Bilson's successor, building was carried on at "a great charge."

Matthew Wren, uncle of the great architect, accompanied Bishop Andrewes to Farnham in 1620 and was impressed by the magnificence of the king's entertainment there. This feast, which lasted for three days, cost the bishop £1,000; yet the king privately felt bored in the company of the grave bishop,

in whose presence he felt bound to refrain from his wonted mirth and liberty. Doubtless he turned for amusement to the skilful disputations of Wren, who at one time argued that the king's dogs "might perform more than others, by the prerogative." It is remarkable that the generosity of this entertainment should have been insisted upon in the funeral discourse on a prelate so eminent and so saintly as Bishop Andrewes.

Like his father, Charles I. enjoyed the pleasures of a country retreat at Farnham. In August, 1630, he was there with his whole Court, intent upon the chase. Secretary Dorchester wrote that "at Farnham their tents were set up like Tartars, and they hunted before and after noon like Indians, as if they should dine and sup on nothing but what they killed." The king again paid Farnham a visit in the next year, coming in by torchlight and going "abroad" again next morning.

The townspeople acquired a personal affection for their sovereign, although they rebelled against the billeting of his soldiers in their houses, and were only pacified by the good promises of Bishop Neile. Subsequently, they were the "tenants and creatures" of the loyal Bishop Curll, Neile's successor, who did not at once retire into private life when the Civil War broke out, but took part in the defence of Winchester against Cromwell's troops. Probably, therefore, the castle was at first at the king's disposal; but the Royalist townsmen seem to have stood by quietly while, in October, 1642, it was occupied for Parliament by the poet, George Wither. He had previously distinguished himself mainly by the beauty of his delicate lyrics; but he knew the country well, and was convinced of the strategic importance of the castle, situated as it is upon the main roads from London

to Southampton, to Winchester, and on one of the chief approaches to Portsmouth. He was also quite certain of his own capacities as commander, and a little angry that he was placed in dependence upon Sir Richard Onslow, who was in command of the Surrey train-bands. The energetic poet set to work on the very first day of his arrival to strengthen the fortress which, he declared, had for years been only inhabited by daws and crows. This can only have been true of the keep. He hastened to dig a well, for water had previously to be fetched from the town, and fifty years before the bishop had complained that the aqueduct was broken. He set his men to work to build stables in place of those which had been burnt down in the time of James I., and hastened the erection of platforms, palisades and counter-scarps. In his industry he pestered Onslow for stores, ammunition, and reinforcements, and would not believe that his demands could not be supplied at once. With sensitive self-consciousness he took upon himself "the duty of inferior officers," instructing the recruits of his scanty garrison in the management of their weapons; and bitterly he felt his helplessness when they "gave him leave to instruct others," and went off into the country round to tell the malignant "creatures of the bishop" how the fine garrison at the castle had neither lodging nor victuals, nor more than sixty muskets between them. The good captain had evidently expected to find himself in command of a well-defended fortress, well supplied with stores and ammunition to resist a lengthy siege, and was disappointed to find himself at the head of an ill-trained garrison of raw recruits in an ancient castle, which had not been besieged for over four centuries. He vented his rage on Sir Richard Onslow, bringing against him quite ill-founded charges of treachery. His own behaviour was soon questioned,

for he left the castle and made his way to London. According to his own account he went there unwillingly at Onslow's command. When once there he spent his time in vain entreaties for stores and cannon from the Tower. It was too late. Prince Rupert's troops were between him and his castle, and the Committee of Both Houses would not trust him with their guns for fear they should be captured. Hearing that orders had been sent to his soldiers to evacuate the castle, he determined, with praiseworthy spirit, to ride through the enemy's country and share in their retreat. Meanwhile news was brought him that the townsmen would not even allow his garrison meat for their supper, much less waggons in which to carry off what stores they had. He went to his own house on the way and fetched thence sheep and waggons. These he brought "through the Little Park at the backside of the castle." Then the little band retired in military order through the midst of the townsfolk, who, he said, suppressed their snarls and barks till they were out of sight.

Doubtless the snarling turned to cheering when, soon afterwards, the castle was occupied by the Royalists. The garrison was again commanded by a poet, Sir John Denham, composer of the first English descriptive poem. He was better supplied than the Parliamentarian captain, for he had a hundred soldiers under his command. Besides, it seems that Wither, in spite of the dignity of his retreat, had left his 300 sheep behind. Sir John Denham did not hold out long when Sir William Waller appeared before the walls of the castle. It does in fact appear to have been untenable, and Denham lacked resource. On December 1 the outer gate, whose weakness Wither had bemoaned, was broken in with a petard. A wooden palisade beyond it proved no obstruction to the

besiegers. Denham yielded at once, and was allowed to retire. The fate of the sheep is unknown, but the two poets never forgave one another. Wither received compensation for his losses in the shape of a grant of his rival's house, and was much disgusted when in pity for Lady Denham the Parliament restored it to her. He poured out his grievances in angry prose, far different from his sweeter lyrics. His wife, said he, must have what house she could, while Parliament gave to Denham's wife the house she fancied. Denham retaliated by pleading for his rival's life, saying that while Wither lived he would not be the worst poet in England.

In the capture of the castle the Parliamentarians all but lost one of their most skilled commanders. As Waller had entered the building and was passing through a narrow passage he barely escaped a shot fired by one of his own men, who was following him. The townspeople, too, did not content themselves with passive antagonism. On one Sunday, appointed by the Parliament for a general fast, they crowded riotously into the Great Park, driving away the deer and jeering at the keeper and the ordinances of Parliament.

It is said that Waller soon afterwards commanded the destruction of the keep, but it does not appear to have been totally dismantled until 1654. In the early years of the Civil War Farnham was an important base of the Parliamentary operations in the southern counties, and the habitable part of the castle was converted into a kind of frontier fortress. In the winter following its capture Waller was obliged to fall back upon it, and while entrenched at Farnham was alarmed to see a Royalist force four times as large as his own gathering upon a hill in the Great Park. He

attributed his deliverance to divine intervention. A thick mist fell, and the enemy dared not attack in the darkness. When the fog was driven away he was so strongly placed that the enemy retired on Crondall, and the Parliamentarian flag was left to wave defiance from the walls of the castle.

From time to time during the next two years Farnham was filled with Parliamentary troops, sent thither from the counties round London to join Waller's army in the south. He sent prisoners there to be guarded at the castle and in the church. The castle was converted into a depôt for ammunition and stores for the troops in the neighbourhood. This became the more necessary as the resources of the country round were exhausted by the troops who wintered in the town.

Early in 1645 the castle was left more or less unprotected, and charges of treachery were brought against a certain Mr. Stoughton. These were probably connected with a surprise attack by General Goring, who occupied the town for the king, January 9, but only held it for one day. Later in the year the garrison was reorganized, but the gentlemen of Surrey had been alarmed at the thought of a Royalist stronghold on their very borders, and begged that the castle might be demolished. It was not yet entirely destroyed. In 1648 it was still a garrison, and the captain was commanded to keep a look out for Royalists who were raising a troop of horse in the neighbourhood. Then there were new fears of a surprise, and the Parliamentary captain did his best to strengthen his command. Finally an order came for the demolition of all its fortifications, so as to render it indefensible within a fortnight. Six years later the same captain was still at the work of destruction, doling out stones from the keep to the townsmen to pave their streets.

Thus ends the military history of the fortress built by Henry of Blois. After an existence of 500 years the walls of the massive keep were broken down to pave the streets of the little town which it had protected. The mound within served for many years as an orchard or a kitchen garden. Now nothing could be more peaceful than the smooth turf borders and well kept flower-plots which cover it. Even in 1648 the battered outer walls must have looked sadly altered to Charles I. as he rode out of the town, where he had slept at Vernon House, a prisoner buoyed up with vain hopes of escape.

During the next few years no care seems to have been bestowed on the castle. Once more it became the home of daws and crows. After the Restoration, Brian Duppa, the new bishop, lived scarcely long enough to set in order so much that had been destroyed in the last twenty years, although he did begin to repair the castle. The election of his successor, George Morley, in 1662, brought in a new era. It was he, who, deciding to leave warfare alone, rebuilt the domestic part of the building, leaving the keep in its now ruinous state. He was so noted for his liberality that Charles II. declared that he would never be the richer by the great income of the see. Indeed, he spent it largely on rebuilding his palaces with great magnificence. He made many alterations in the great hall at Farnham, reducing its length by 20 feet, and adding to its comfort by building a wide fireplace. He fitted the chapel with stalls and a screen of carved woodwork, and also put up heavily carved balustrades upon the main staircase. Yet in the midst of all this growing splendour he contented himself with an austere life, sleeping in a little room under the entrance-tower, only 8 feet square, reminded of the futility of his grandeur by the constant

presence of his coffin, and rising at five every morning to study, winter and summer, without a fire. Before 1672 he spent £8,000 on the castle. The king and the Duke of York had known him well in the time of their exile, and often visited him at the castle after his consecration. Their constant visits tried the temper of the bishop, generous as he was, and in his irascible way he "murmured mightily," and asked some who told the king again whether he intended to make the bishop's house always an inn. The report of his complaints put an end to the royal visits, and the king looked about to provide himself with a good house on the way to Winchester.

Nevertheless, the bishop was most hospitable. His chaplain for a time was Bishop Ken, who practised an austerity similar to his own. There is not much to connect Ken with the castle, for his chaplaincy was short; but his brother-in-law, Isaac Walton, spent many a day under the bishop's roof. After his wife's death the good old angler spent a great part of his time as Morley's guest, and the castle looking down upon the valley of the Wey would have great attractions for him. It is thought that it was here that he wrote the lives of Hooker and Herbert. The fifth edition of the "Complete Angler" is dated from the castle. He used to spend the Christmas there and had a lodging of his own, where he left his books and a "desk of prints and pickters." Morley had also more disagreeable guests—his nephews, who came for what they could get from their uncle's rich bishopric. For three weeks during which the poor bishop lay upon his death-bed they would scarcely let him have time to say his prayers, for fear he should die before he had sealed and signed the favourable leases of the episcopal property which they had induced him to make in the time of weakness.

Even if unadvised, Morley's liberality had saved the castle from further decay. His successor, the "old, honest Cavalier," Peter Mews, would have been more fitly lodged in the keep. He had been a loyal soldier of the king in the Civil War, and soon after his consecration took part in the battle of Sedgmoor. His portrait in the castle drawing-room shows the black patch which hid a wound in his cheek. Though he firmly resisted the unconstitutional proceedings of James II., court gossip declared that the king begged a refuge at Farnham in the time of his troubles.

The succeeding bishop, the "spiritual dragoon," Sir Jonathan Trelawney, was roused to indignation by the presence in Farnham of French prisoners of war. Among them was the Bishop of Quebec, who, with his ecclesiastics, was on parole not to leave the town, until their "impudent perverting of Martha Newland to the Popish religion" caused them to be put under restraint. Added to the dislike for foreigners which still remained with the inhabitants of "one of the loveliest spots in England," as the French bishop called it, was the suspicion that their guards had brought to the town a severe epidemic of small-pox.

The eighteenth-century bishops were mostly courtiers, but they spent a great part of their time at Farnham. Bishop Trimnell was a zealous supporter of the royal prerogative; and Hoadly, a leader of the Latitudinarian party both in Church and State, was chaplain to George I. and intimate at Court. In the time of Bishop Thomas the connection between the sovereign and Farnham Castle was renewed; but the frequent visits of George III. to his old tutor were very different from the gay hunting parties of Charles I., or the magnificent entertainment prepared for James I. They were quiet and homely visits, which continued till the bishop's

death. A little more ceremony was used in a congratulatory visit on his birthday. One Sunday, the king on hearing that Thomas would be eighty-one next day, exclaimed: "Then I will go and wish him joy." The queen, not to be outdone in kindness said that she would go too. So the royal phaeton, with three coaches and six and one coach and four, and a large retinue of servants, set out early in the morning and arrived at Farnham in time for eleven o'clock breakfast, for the king had risen at six and the royal family usually joined him at the chapel at eight. The king had brought with him the princes and the Princess Royal. Prince William, with his sunny ways, "engaged the heart" of the old bishop, and would stay with him while the rest of the party rambled about the house. The accomplished Mrs. Chapone, friend of Dr. Johnson and of Richardson, was there, and made tea for the humbler guests in the dressing-room. She was proud when the queen introduced the Princess Royal as one who had profited much by her "Letters on the Improvement of the Mind." Yet Mrs. Chapone was not very happy at Farnham, and soon ceased to visit the castle. At that time its chief beauty was the fine avenue of elms in the Little Park, three quarters of a mile in length. It is broken now, but still retains some of its old grandeur.

The gloomy splendour of the old house, little altered since the days of Bishop Morley, was unpleasing to Mrs. North, the fashionable wife of the new bishop, who owed his preferment to the influence of his brother, the prime minister. She mingled as much of modern elegance and fashion as she could with its old-world glory, while her husband strove to recover the Little Park from the ill-effects of years of neglect. The old regime at the castle was fast dying out. The last constable had surrendered his office to

the bishop, and the sole remaining "burgess" in the little town below had "dissolved" himself, giving up the precious charters for which his predecessors had struggled. For nearly eight centuries the bishops of Winchester had ruled in the civil affairs of their tenants about Farnham as well as in their spiritual life. It was with sorrow that Bishop Sumner, who has justly been called the last of the prince-bishops, saw the transfer of the civil jurisdiction of the see to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. It was the dawn of a new era throughout all the country. In the time of the riots and disturbances which preceded the Reform Bill, the men of Farnham, who had welcomed their new bishop with eager enthusiasm three years before, dragging his carriage through the town and up the steep hill to the castle door, now turned upon him, angered at the opposition of the bishops to the Bill. The rioters marched in great numbers up the hill leading to the castle, which they intended to attack. They were only prevented from doing so by the massive entrance-gates, which had been repaired by Bishop Sumner. They turned back into the town and showed their wrath by preparing to burn an effigy of the bishop. The effigy was saved from destruction only to be replaced by another.

The bishop received many distinguished visitors at Farnham. Among them was the Duke of Wellington who rode over from his home at Strathfieldsaye to discuss the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. Wilberforce, who afterwards succeeded to the bishopric but never lived at Farnham, was often a visitor in his predecessor's time, and many men of note in the literary world visited Sumner as their friend. In the summer of 1856 he was honoured by a visit from Queen Victoria. She rode over in the evening from the camp at Aldershot where the Wellington College had recently been

opened. Approaching the castle by way of the great avenue in the park, she alighted at the garden gate, and was shown over the house and keep by the bishop.

He continued to live at Farnham after his resignation of the see in 1869. It was for this reason that Bishop Wilberforce did not make it his abode. At the beginning of the episcopates of Bishop Browne and Bishop Thorold the removal of the residence of the bishops to Winchester was seriously considered. Bishop Browne was troubled by the "long passages, staircases, and boundless roof" of Farnham Castle, but soon began to love the place and its associations and to take pride in the rare possession of a Norman oak pillar. He improved the great hall by putting in mullioned windows; but the palatial house was always a burden to him, and his successor, Bishop Thorold, once again threatened to break the link which had bound Farnham to Winchester for a thousand years. Happily he changed his plans, and under his care the whole building was repaired and remodelled; corridors were pierced, the great drawing-room was hung with the Garter portraits of his predecessors, from Brian Duppa onwards, and the gloomy wilderness of attics, inappropriately called "Paradise" and "Arcadia," were converted into bright cubicles fitted up for the entertainment of ordination candidates. It was not the interior of the building alone that occupied his attention; it is due to him that the former kitchen garden within the keep has given place to the trim parterres of an Old English flower-garden. Bishop Browne had entertained the Anglo-Continental Society at the castle, and Bishop Thorold's hospitality was lavish. He loved the very stones of his home with its outlook over the town in the valley to the distant hills of Hindhead, and grew to consider it "as indissolubly a part of the see of Winchester

as Lambeth is of Canterbury." To enable his successors to live there he bequeathed to them the bulk of its furniture; nor is the building without traces of its last master, the present Archbishop of Canterbury.

Although with Bishop Sumner there ended the succession of princely bishops who for many centuries had ruled at Farnham, the castle is still the home of generous hospitality, and, above all, the centre of organization and life in the great work of the Church throughout the diocese of Winchester.

The Old Palace of Lincoln

A CITY set on a hill that cannot be hid; a church held high like a minster on the hand of a painted saint; a triumphant *gloria* with its challenge to all that pass by: such is Lincoln seen from below. The cathedral first draws the eye; then the castle; then, perhaps, a tower with a house close by among the trees, which emphasizes with a narrow finger the huge length of the minster just behind. This is the palace—the "Old Palace," as it is called, as if to conjure up visions and wraiths of the saints, sovereigns, statesmen, sinners who have bound its long tale inseverably with the story of the years and of the realm.

Perhaps on no English city has the Roman occupation left such permanent traces as at Lincoln, where a Roman gateway still gives entrance to the town which the Romans founded on the hill. For Lincoln is divided into two distinct districts: the high quarter where both castle and cathedral lie, and the clustering city below them on the Witham bank. It was on the hill that the first settlement was made, and here the Romans formed their camp. Traders followed the legionaries, and a wall was built on the old military lines, so that the first Roman city of *Lindum Colonia* arose. For in Lincoln, as in London, the population in time outgrew the straitness of the lines, and the city was enlarged by prolonging the east and west walls southward down the hillside

to within eighty yards of the stream. The original city covered about thirty-eight acres, and, being military in origin, it lay four-square, so that a wall pierced by a gate faced each point of the compass. On the east this wall ran just east of the deanery and across the site of the chapter-house, its south-east corner being near the bishop's gateway, whence going west it followed the line of the wall of the palace grounds.

Invaders plundered and burnt the city—the Newport Arch still bears marks of the fire; but probably some vestiges remained in Saxon times, for to this day the upper city and Bailgate, its chief street, still follow the Roman plan.

With the Conquest came many changes; first the castle was built by the Conqueror in the south-west corner of the first Roman city—a site covered with at least 166 small houses, all of which were destroyed. The city must have presented rather a dilapidated appearance in 1086, for the jurors who made the Domesday return declared that there were also seventy decayed houses without the castle bounds, but they were hasty to add that these were ruined not by the oppression of sheriffs or officials, but by misfortune, poverty, and fire. At this time Lincoln was not the seat of the bishopric which now bears its name. After many vicissitudes following the political fortunes of the land the see of Dorchester was, in 1066, established at Stow, already little more than a village though formerly of greater importance. Remigius determined to move his bishop's stool to Dorchester, the Oxfordshire village whence the see took its name; and he had begun to build there when, in 1073, the Council of Windsor decreed that bishops should transfer their seats from villages to towns. But before Remigius could carry out this order land had to be provided for the

buildings which would be required, and the bishops of Dorchester had none in Lincoln though there had been churches there ever since Paulinus, in 628, had built a stone church of beautiful workmanship which was still standing when Bede wrote, though the roof had fallen in, either from age, neglect, or the malice of men. This was no obstacle to Remigius, who had been present at Hastings and had seen one difficulty after another disappear before the Conqueror. Among the lands forfeited by Saxons in Lincoln were thirty holdings (*mansiones*) and a hall, once the property of Joch, son of Out, who had had rights in each of the three churches there. The hall was granted to Geoffrey Alselin; but Remigius procured from the king the thirty holdings as well as a small manor and other lands both within and without the walls. The date of the transfer of the see has been much disputed, but it was probably about 1076 that William I. gave this land, and by 1086 Domesday Book records that the "Bishop of Lincoln" was in possession. By this grant almost the whole of the eastern half of the ancient Roman city passed into the hands of the bishop, for at this date the chapter was really only his council, and it was not until later that the land was divided between them—part going to form the palace grounds and part the close.

Remigius, having secured his land, at once began to build his cathedral on the site of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene and wholly within the bounds of the Roman wall—as the chronicler says, "on the very peak of the city of Lincoln, high up next that most strong castle." Remigius did not see it consecrated, for a dispute with the Archbishop of York caused delay, and when at last the bishops had consented to perform the ceremony, Remigius was dying. Whether he also built any palace here, or had any fixed dwelling for

himself, is not known; if he had such a dwelling it was probably on another site and not where the palace now stands.

In 1094 Robert Bloett succeeded to the see, which had been kept vacant by William Rufus until in a panic, during an illness at Gloucester in 1093 he made Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury and gave Lincoln to his chancellor. Bloett resigned his office on becoming bishop; but on the accession of Henry II. he received yet greater promotion as justiciar, and was high in royal favour. As bishop, he surrounded himself with magnificence and such state that Robert, the king's son, was among the youths trained in his service. Henry of Huntingdon, his archdeacon, tells, in his *de Contemptu Mundi*, of how as child, youth, and young man, he wondered at the bishop's display, and of how, later in life, the knights fully equipped, the noble lads in his household, the valuable horses, the vessels of gold or silver-gilt, the garments of purple and eastern silk, all left him with the sense of a splendour that could not be excelled. It must have been during this, his period of pomp, that Bloett received from the king that charter which gives the first indication we have of a palace at Lincoln. Whether Bloett built it or not, a bishop's house, or "*episcopium*," was evidently there on a site without the bailey wall, for Henry sent Ranulf Meschins, Earl of Chester, Osbert the sheriff, and Picot son of Colsuen, an intimation that he had granted to Robert, the Bishop of Lincoln, leave to make an opening in the wall of the castle for access to his dwelling, provided that such exit did not weaken the wall. It is probable that this entrance was in the position of the present gateway, which cuts through the line of the wall of the second Roman city; that the wall was intact at this point may be inferred from

the fact that just south of the gateway a large block of it still remains as the division between the vicar's court and the episcopal demesne.

Some such entrance was made necessary by the nature of the ground, for on the south the escarpment of the hill was too steep for the approach of horsemen or a train of followers unless on foot, and on the west the Church of St. Michael on the Mount already separated the land occupied by the bishop's land from Bailgate. There is, moreover, no trace of an ancient approach on either of these sides, and in a city such as Lincoln, where roads and customs are apt to keep their ancient way, some weight must be attached to this negative evidence.

Robert Bloett, though holding such high office in the State, seems to have lacked decision of character, and in his latter years suffered much from suits brought against him by an inferior justiciar. These actions and the heavy fines imposed were a source of great grief to the bishop who, as Henry of Huntingdon relates, wept at a banquet at beholding his retinue diminished in its pomp through the heavy drain on his revenues. At the same time, while feeling so bitterly against the king that he said one day, "The king praises no one of his servants but him whom he wills to hurt to the quick," he remained in touch with the Court, as the story of his death shows. One day in 1123 he rode with Henry and the Bishop of Salisbury through the royal deer forest of Woodstock, talking, when suddenly he fell forward with the cry, "My lord the king, I am dying." Straightway Henry dismounted and took him in his arms. They bore him to the lodge, where the bishop died. Then with great pomp they brought his body to Lincoln, and buried it before the altar of St. Mary there. In the previous year there occurred a

disastrous fire in Lincoln; almost the whole of the city was destroyed, though it is expressly stated that the minster and the bishop's palace escaped. So great was the destruction that the news spead far and wide, and it was recorded as one of the chief events of the year by the writer of the "Annals of Margam" far off in Wales.

Robert Bloett was succeeded by Alexander, whose taste ran to building rather than to the maintenance of a princely retinue, and to him the see owed the three castles of Newark, Sleaford, and Banbury, all of which were later favourite residences of the bishops. There is, however, no evidence that Alexander wrought anything at his palace in Lincoln, though he obtained more land there; and Henry I. notified William de Albini and William son of Haco, then sheriff, that he had granted to Bishop Alexander the East Gate with the lands beyond for his entertainment. Long afterwards this land was given by the bishop for the enlargement of the deanery which stands exactly at the west of the old line of the wall.

But a few years later the city was involved in the stress of civil war, and all thought of building aught but castles of necessity came to an end. When in 1140 the Empress Matilda landed in England and made her claim to the throne; she took up a position for a time at Lincoln Castle until Stephen drove her out, and, having garrisoned the castle, went his way. Although he was imprisoned and illtreated by Stephen the bishop remained an adherent of the Crown, and was with the king's army in 1141. Lincoln Castle was held for Stephen until that year, when it was taken by stratagem by Ranulf, Earl of Chester, and his brother William de Romara, Earl of Lincoln. Alexander was apparently staying at Lincoln at the time, for he, as well as the citizens,

sent word to Stephen of the loss. Accordingly the king marched to the city. He appears to have entered it with little trouble, for only the castle was held by the opposing force, the upper town being evidently in the bishop's hands. And a bishop of Lincoln of the twelfth century was no mere ecclesiastic, but as William of Malmesbury assures us, one of the most powerful barons of the realm, with a goodly force of knights at his command. Here too the Roman walls are apparently decayed, but the East Gate, as we have seen, was in the bishop's hands, while the southern boundary was probably already occupied by the bishop's house, which at that date was bound to be a fortified dwelling. This commanded the greater part of the south slope of the hill, while just north of it was the cathedral, also in the bishop's hands, and directly fronting the gate of the actual bail of the castle. It was therefore but a natural precaution—and one not unprecedented at that time—for Stephen to seize the cathedral and to convert it into his chief stronghold, for which indeed its solid Norman stonework made it not unsuitable. Stephen reached Lincoln with his army in the octave of Christmas, 1141, and was probably lodged with his follower the bishop. He invested the castle, but could not prevent the escape of Ranulf, Earl of Chester, who went with all speed to his father Robert of Gloucester, and both returned with a strong force to relieve the besieged. The army of the barons reached Lincolnshire on the second of February, and encamped on the western side of the hill. On that morning, being Candlemas Day, the king went in solemn state to Mass, and made his offering of a great candle at the high altar. Alexander the bishop stood there in all splendour of vestment ready to receive the gift. The candle was lighted, and the king knelt with it in his hands; but in

the very handling it broke in two and went out. Great was the consternation of the many, and great that of the king—so great that a hundred years later Richard of Wendover, prior of Belvoir, could relate it in his "Flowers of History." Nor was this the only sign of coming misfortune, for when the great mystery had been wrought and Alexander raised the pyx aloft for worship, the thread that fastened it broke, and the vessel fell on the altar-stone—a forecast of the ruin of the realm. It must have been with a sick heart that Stephen left the church, and drew up his lines of battle. The day went against him; all around the king were captured or fled; and at length Stephen, beaten to the ground, was himself taken captive, and sent as a prisoner to Bristol. The city was bound to suffer, and a great part of the citizens were slaughtered; of the fate of the bishop's palace nothing is known, but when such general allies of the king suffered it is hardly likely that the bishop, his acknowledged friend, should have escaped. That the palace was destroyed before the middle of the twelfth century seems certain from the remark of Giraldus Cambrensis—that Robert de Chesney began to build "on the old foundations."

Alexander was succeeded in 1143 by Robert de Chesney, a young man belonging to one of the most important families in Oxfordshire. Though lacking strength of character he was popular with all classes; his election by the chapter was unanimous, and both Stephen and the people greeted the news with great joy, partly probably because his reputation for humility and simplicity was in marked contrast to the pride of Alexander. Robert de Chesney was not, however, wanting in appreciation of his state as bishop of a great see: his ideas in fact outran his means, and like so many of his contemporaries he solved the problem thus raised by

recourse to the Jews. To this he had peculiar temptation, for the greatest money-lender of his time lived almost at the bishop's doors. Aaron the Jew of Lincoln was a power throughout the land; nearly every great noble was in his debt, and the bishop was only following the fashion in pawning to him the ornaments of his cathedral church in return for £300. With this money he began to build the palace, which he proposed should stretch from Roman wall to Roman wall. Henry II. visited Lincoln between 1154 and 1157, and the bishop took this opportunity of obtaining from him a grant which fixes the limits of his palace as much those of the present demesne. At the same time the form of the grant shows it to have been a confirmation of existing liberties and conditions, so that it in no way militates against the theory that the bishops of Lincoln had fixed their abode at this spot at an earlier date. Why a confirmation was considered advisable is not known, but probably Robert de Chesney was about to extend the buildings of the palace, and was anxious that the land he was about to cover should be acknowledged by the king as part of the original gift of William I. In this way the bishop was saved the risk of the land being afterwards claimed as "purpresture" or land "jumped" from the royal demesne. This security was of importance, as the officers of the Crown were active in making such claims, and a heavy annual quit-rent was frequently exacted. The charter of Henry II. accordingly defines the boundaries of the bishop's land as running from the churchyard of St. Michael on the Mount as far as the churchyard of St. Andrew; and from the churchyard of St. Andrew as far as the wall of the city—that is, the second Roman wall, on the east; and grants, moreover, the ditch of the bail wall on the east. The king also confirmed the rights

appurtenant to the land, and expressly freed the bishop from land gable or land tax, parcage, and all other dues. This was important, as taxation was being reorganized, and the question of the bishop's immunity from the ordinary fiscal burdens of his neighbours was bound to arise. Though the great Galilee porch—the state entrance of the bishops—had not yet been added to the cathedral, they probably always entered by a door in the transept, and Robert de Chesney applied to Henry II. for permission to make an entrance opposite to it and through the ancient wall of the bail. A clause was therefore added to the charter empowering the bishop to make such a door, and part of it may still be seen, though the earth has crept up until all but the jambs are covered, and the grass touches the spring of the arch. The arch itself is heavy and round. The door was probably not very lofty, and it was certainly narrow, for the distance from jamb to jamb is but six feet, just sufficient for a stately procession to the church, but quite inadequate to an army such as invariably clustered round a bishop of that day.

Robert de Chesney died in 1166, and was succeeded by Geoffrey, an illegitimate son of Henry II. and some mistress, who was not, however, Fair Rosamund, as used to be maintained. Soon after his father's accession Geoffrey was acknowledged as his son and brought up in the royal household, though destined for the Church. He took deacon's orders when quite a boy, and at a very early age was made Archdeacon of Lincoln. In 1173, when scarcely twenty, Henry secured his election to the bishopric. Papal dispensations were obtained to overcome the obstacles of his youth and birth, and in July, 1175, Archbishop Richard of Canterbury confirmed the election in the name of the Pope.

But Geoffrey had no desire either for priest's orders or consecration; he preferred the camp to the Church, and young as he was he succeeded in quashing the revolt of his brothers and of the Scots in 1174. Energetic, and a good man of business, one of his first acts was to redeem the ornaments of the cathedral which Robert de Chesney had so rashly pawned; and besides restoring these he added to the treasures of the minster two bells which still exist in the Great Tom. But through all his vigorous administration he made no attempt at securing further orders; and so great did the scandal become that in 1181 the Pope called upon him to resign or be consecrated. Resignation fitted in with the plans of Henry II., and his son accepted his advice. On the feast of the Epiphany, 1182, the see accordingly became vacant, and it was not until the following year that Walter de Coutance became Bishop of Lincoln.

Walter died two years later, when his successor was the man afterwards known far and wide as St. Hugh of Lincoln. A French Carthusian with a reputation for asceticism and business capacity, Henry III. called him to England to reorganize his foundation of Witham Priory, and made him his friend. It was, therefore, with personal knowledge of the man that Henry, in 1186, procured Hugh's election to the see of Lincoln. Hugh took up his residence at Stow, and besides administering the diocese he began to enlarge his cathedral to the east. The palace also was his care. What was the plan of the older building it is impossible to say: if there are foundations they are probably now deep underground. The earliest building now standing in the palace grounds is part of the fair hall which Hugh began to build "in the sure and certain hope," as the chronicler tells us, "with God's aid to bring it to completion." This hope was not to be

fulfilled; but St. Hugh was building for a see and not for an episcopacy, and the work carried on by his successors still show traces of its glory even in decay. But beautiful as the hall was, it was surpassed in every way by the choir and the eastern transepts. It was these, rather than the hall of the palace, that struck the imagination of the time, and stories were told afterwards of how the saint himself wrought at the building, carrying a hod with the meanest of his men.

Probably Hugh did not live much in Lincoln; he preferred Stow, where lived the swan that followed him like a dog and afterwards became his emblem. Though both gentle and devout, so that even lepers were not loathsome in his sight, his perfect moral courage made him withstand the demand of the Crown for a money-grant in 1198—the first refusal of the kind ever made in England—and enabled him to reprimand King John. He was, indeed, much employed in affairs of State, and it was on royal business that he was summoned to France in that year. Before he left he went to Lincoln, where he bade his canons farewell, giving to each the kiss of peace, and commending them, in the words of the apostle, "to God and to the word of His grace." When Hugh returned, he entered Lincoln amid plaudits such as might greet a conqueror from a great crowd drawn not only from the city, but from the diocese. In 1200 he set out for France once more, but the journey was his last. On his way home he caught a fever, and struggled back to his London house in Southampton Row to die on November 16; two days later the funeral procession set out for the north. The clergy and people of London, with crosses and tapers, saw the mourners on their way far beyond the city. Everywhere through the fields and the townships the people, of either sex and every condition, flocked to meet the procession,

striving to touch the coffin with their hands. Northward through Hertford, Biggleswade, Buckden, Stamford, and Ancaster, they journeyed, and at length on November 23 they reached the city. Lincoln has seen many splendid sights, and the ages have given her pageantry in full, but probably never did it see more solemn pomp than on the day of the funeral of St. Hugh. It was the time of a great council, and all the nobles of the realm were assembled there, and there, too, was the King of Scots. So the streets were full not only of the people of Lincoln and the diocese—men who had known and loved their bishop—but of men at arms, and all the throng attached to the lords, drawn by curiosity and report. On the slope of the hill the procession was met by the two Kings of England and Scotland. Even John was sobered, and the King of Scots shed tears in the sight of all. Then the King of England and his great nobles took the coffin to bear it to the cathedral, but often the bearers were relieved, for all would have a share in the glory of that toil. Thus, through the mud, up the steep streets of the town, past the Jewry, where the Jews bewailed him in their fashion, the procession moved onwards to the ringing of bells and sound of hymns until it came to the great church itself.

It was not surprising that, with sentiment so poignant, miracles followed. Worshippers thronged round the tomb, and, in popular opinion, Hugh of Avalon was accounted a saint long before his canonization in 1220. A long list of wonders brought men from all parts of the north, so that Giraldus Cambrensis couples St. Thomas, the red rose of Kent—"rosy with his precious blood outpoured"—with St. Hugh, the bright lily of Lincoln.

William of Blois, the successor of St. Hugh, seems to

have carried on the work both of the cathedral and the palace hall, both of which were unfinished when he was succeeded in 1209 by Hugh of Wells. The operations must have been much hindered by the turmoil of the barons' wars, in which Lincoln played no inconsiderable part. In May, 1217, the army of the barons retired from the siege of Montsorrel to attack Lincoln Castle, which was held for King John by the brave old lady, Nicholaa de la Hay, and certain officers of the king. Roger de Wendover probably saw them as they marched down the valley of Belvoir past his monastery, and he has described how miserable was their array as, clad in tattered garments, they burnt and harried all they passed. The defences of the city were no better in 1217 than they had been in 1141, and the royal forces were in no condition to hold Lincoln, even if the theory of war at that time had looked upon the occupation of a city as important. The castle in their opinion was the only really needful point, and the baronial party was allowed to occupy the town, and not merely the lower portion of it, but also the hall, the palace, and the cathedral. From this eastern position the barons poured a ceaseless fire of stones into the bailey of the castle, and destroyed many of the buildings there. So great was the danger that a strong Royal force was sent to the relief of the castle under William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and Peter, the fighting Bishop of Winchester. The barons were thus between the forces of the besieged and relievers in precisely the same way as the forces of King Stephen had been some eighty years before; their position was, however, fairly secure, for they could not be attacked from the south, where the town was doubly guarded by the Witham and Sencil dykes. The relieving force made its way to the west side of the city, and there established communication with

Nicholaa de la Hay and her men in the castle. Then came the problem of how to get at the besiegers. The long French poem, which purports to be a history of William Marshal, tells how, when finally the old Newport Arch had been forced and an attack became possible, Peter, Bishop of Winchester, in high good humour called to the men to spare the palace for him. William Marshal gave the order "Charge!" adding, "They will soon be conquered. Shame on him who tarries longer." Swifter than a merlin, he spurred on his charger, and all those who were with him were heartened at the sight. Into the crowd he pressed, the bishop behind crying, "God aid the marshal." With the whole weight of his force behind him he drove the enemy before him, clear first of the bail and then down the hill. In such a position retreat could only be rout. Down through the narrow lanes, so steep that now no vehicle attempts them, the battle was carried. Bargate stood in the way; narrow and old as the Newport Arch, the door was fastened by a bar which swung of its own accord. Each fugitive came up to find the way blocked; to dismount in mail, unhasp the bolt, speed through as the door clanged, took time, and time was freedom that day. But even when through the gate it was only to find that a flank movement had here cut off retreat. Complete victory as the "Fair of Lincoln" was, the battle was singularly bloodless. The poem speaks of many wounded, bruised, or made prisoner, but Roger of Wendover knew of only three slain. And it cost the citizens of Lincoln dear. Once again the place was given over to pillage, and the whole city was spoiled to the last farthing. The soldiers broke open every chest with hammers, and carried off from them gold and silver, the scarlet cloth for which Lincoln had won fame, the

women's ornaments, gold rings, cups, and precious stones—all the luxuries in fact, which the merchants had bought for their pleasure and adornment. Not even the cathedral escaped this plague, for the Legate had given the soldiers to understand that they might regard the canons as excommunicate, having been enemies to the Roman Church and the King of England from the beginning of the war. That the palace did not escape may be assumed from the jest made by Bishop Peter before the attack; Hugh of Wells, moreover, was well known as an adherent of the barons, and so was considered excommunicated and a suitable victim. It is perhaps significant that a few years later the offices and kitchens there were newly built. At any rate there is no reason to suppose that it escaped a plunder which left no corner untouched, until, peace proclaimed within the city, each returned a rich man to his lord.

It was probably to a much battered house that Bishop Hugh returned at the close of the war; but at first the administration of his diocese and the work at the cathedral occupied all his energy, for the north transept was being built, and in 1220 "the Dean's Eye"—that great rose-window which fills the end—first shone forth. Then the bishop found himself free to repair his palace, and finish the work St. Hugh had begun. The interest of Henry III. in architecture was well known, and Hugh enlisted his sympathies in the work when the king came to Lincoln in 1224. It was but a short distance from the castle to the palace, and Henry must have seen the unfinished hall, and probably discussed the plan with the bishop. Nor was his interest ineffectual, for he promised timber for the work, and issued a mandate to Hugh de Nevill, keeper of the royal forest of Sherwood, empowering him to cut down forty trunks of trees to make

beams and joists for the hall at Lincoln, and ordered that the timber should be taken at a point where the bishop's men could best take it in charge. The king did not stop here, for in the same year he wrote to the mayor and bailiffs of Lincoln to intimate that he had given licence to the bishop to hew stone in the fosse of the city near the palace, and to use that stone for building his house, provided that he could do so without injury to the city. The meaning of this grant is somewhat obscure, but probably the idea was to increase the steepness of the southern escarpment of the hill by removing the stone and using it for building purposes on the terrace thus formed. Seven years later, Henry gave a similar power to the dean and chapter, who were to use for the fabric of the church and the repair of their houses such stone from the ditch of Lincoln Castle as the sheriff might think conduced to the improvement of that ditch. Hugh of Wells went further; for, to the south of the hall and overhanging the wall of living stone which the masons had just cleared, he built a mass of kitchen buildings, with the butteries and pantries needed for service. There is nothing to show at what date they were finished, but the upper town of Lincoln must have rung with the sound of mallet and hammer in 1233, when all this work was going on at the palace, when just above it men were busy on the minster, and when, just to the west, they were mending the king's lodging at the castle and rebuilding the western gate there which had almost fallen to the ground.

In 1235 Hugh of Wells was succeeded by Robert Grosseteste, one of the greatest English prelates of the Middle Ages. As prebendary of Empringham in Lincoln Cathedral he seems to have been deeply impressed by the want of order and governance in the chapter due to lack of

outside control. Of this criticism, however, his fellow-canons were happily ignorant, and after some quarrelling they unanimously elected him, in 1235, to fill the empty see. Grosseteste encouraged the work on the cathedral, as the nave and west front, the western transept, and the Galilee porch bear witness; but the canons found to their amazement that the bishop proposed not merely to adorn the church, but to reform the chapter. The episcopal zeal was shown within the very year of Grosseteste's consecration, when he held a visitation of the monasteries under his rule and removed the superiors from eleven houses. The panic in the diocese was great, and great was the horror of the canons in 1239 when they received official intimation that the bishop would visit his cathedral in spite of the grant of immunity from episcopal jurisdiction. This grant was the canons' only refuge from Grosseteste, whose ideal bishops were, as he said, as beasts of the Apocalypse, not merely winged, but full of eyes before and behind. By Whitsuntide the chapter had sent a proctor to Rome, and by the autumn the dean and chief dignitaries had followed him there, so that when Grosseteste arrived at his cathedral, as he had promised, on October 18, not a single member of the cathedral body was there.

It was, of course, a public insult, and Grosseteste must have spent a disturbed evening at his palace, but a few yards away. For years the struggle dragged on, and it was not until 1245, after both dean and bishop had appealed to the Pope at Lyons, that a papal judgment was obtained; this was satisfactory, on the whole, to the bishop, though the canons secured some minor points in contention.

To the history of the palace the struggle is chiefly of importance as limiting its use during this period, and, as far

as is known, Grosseteste made no additions to the fabric. At the same time more details have come down to us of his manner of life than of almost any Bishop of Lincoln, with the possible exception of St. Hugh. Though a stern opponent of malpractices, whether of king, Pope, or lesser men, his honesty of purpose and frankness left his opposition without sting, and when once his quarrel with his chapter was settled he became their very good friend. With the king, too, he was on intimate terms, and his hospitality was well known. It was, perhaps, in the banqueting hall at Lincoln that he entertained the Earl of Gloucester at dinner, and astonished him by the perfection of his manners. It was a fast-day, and wolf-fish were the chief fare. The earl sat by the bishop's side, and the dapifer or butler entered bearing the fish; the best he placed before his lord, the smaller he gave to the earl. The bishop frowned and ordered: "Either take away the fish or place as good a one before the earl." Knowing Grosseteste's humble origin, the earl was surprised, and he did not seek to hide his astonishment. "My lord bishop," he exclaimed, "if I may ask without offence, I should like to know where you learnt such courtesy, for we understand you are of humble birth, and yet you act as one used to the ways of the world." "Very true it is, my lord earl," was the dignified reply, "that my father and mother were humble, but yet from my youth I was nurtured among men and masters of the highest virtue of life." We even know of some of his domestic worries. The bishop's cook died, and to fill his place he had to borrow a certain John of Leicester from his friend the Countess of Leicester, the sister of Henry III. John proved a good cook—one probably who followed the bishop's taste and used pepper rather than ginger to give flavour to his sauces—

and Grosseteste, in asking that the loan might be made permanent, wrote a letter which made his friend Adam Marsh at once laugh and cry. Grosseteste was indeed no believer in asceticism; and a story is told of how, when a friar of melancholy aspect came to him, he enjoined on him as a penance that he should drink a cup of the best wine. The friar had to obey, but it was much against his will, and the joy of the onlookers was great when the bishop tenderly remarked: "My dear friar, if you had such a penance frequently you would have a better ordered conscience." So, too, his robust common sense was heard in a dictum to a Dominican: "There are three things necessary to earthly salvation—food, sleep, and good humour." His fondness for music was well known, and it is related how:—

> "He lovede moche to here the harpe,
> For mans witte it makyth sharpe;
> Next hys chamber, besyde his study,
> Hys harpers chamber was fast the by.
> Many tymes by nightes and dayes
> He hadd solace of notes and layes."

In 1253 the bishop died, and in the same year the chapter elected their dean, Henry de Lexington, to the see. Neither he nor his immediate successors are known to have made any permanent alterations to the palace, though Oliver Sutton was imbued with the spirit of reform, and built the Vicars' Court just without the palace gate, that there the vicars-choral might form a college. It was not until the second decade of the fourteenth century that fresh work was undertaken. With the fourteenth century began a period of calm greater than that which Lincoln had enjoyed for many a year. Battles there were none; the palace was little visited, for the bishops were great men of affairs, busied not merely

with their huge diocese, but with the ordering of the kingdom at large. Buckden was more accessible and more central than Lincoln, and, moreover, afforded sport for their leisure, and when the affairs of the see made a visit to Lincoln needful Nettleham, where Bishop Gravesend had entertained Edward I. in 1276, was more to their taste than their Lincoln palace.

But though wars had ceased, the country was disturbed by robberies; danger became great to the canons and the vicars as they went to and fro between their lodgings and the church for the services at night; for the close, a wide space, held many shadows. Oliver Sutton had obtained licence from the king for the canons to surround their close with a wall, wherein should be gates which might be secured at dusk; but the work seems to have been ill-done or not done at all, for in 1327 royal commissioners were appointed to inquire into the enclosure of the precinct, and whether it would be detrimental to the king's interests. One of the special articles of inquiry dealt with that part of the city wall which joined the precinct on the south of the church from the wall of the bailey to the southern head of the vicars' garden, and this piece was certainly crenellated within the next two years. Henry Burghersh was Chancellor of England, and it was, according to the grant, in acknowledgment of "his profitable services and the great place he holds in the direction of the king's affairs" that in 1329 he received licence to repair and crenellate the walls of his palace. Crenellation probably did not mean much, but it was the fashionable fad of the day when the old fortified dwelling-houses were fast passing and the manor-houses taking their place. What was important to the bishop was the additional grant of the old piece of Roman wall which

separated the palace from Vicars' Court. This wall contained in length 18½ perches, as measured by the standard rod of 20 feet. The length seems to indicate that the bishop had already purchased "the lower garden" from the mayor and citizens. This step was probably necessitated by the discovery that the walls of Bishop Hugh's kitchen were bearing outwards and needed immediate attention if a collapse was to be avoided. Accordingly, on the piece of land acquired just under the wall, the bishop erected the two great buttresses of dressed Ancaster stone, which are still one of the most conspicuous objects on the hillside when viewed from below.

When Bishop Burghersh obtained his licence to crenellate he was careful to secure a clause in the same charter granting to the palace "the immunity and ecclesiastical liberty of the church, its cemetery and other places within the precincts." This was really not only a confirmation of the grant by which the bishop was to be quit of all dues whatsoever, but also was an acknowledgment of the court held in the room above the Galilee porch, at which offences committed in the close received their punishment. What was the incident which made this confirmation desirable is not known, but in 1385—9 the bishop, John Bokyngham, paid 50*s.* to the king for a further confirmation of the right. A few years later the charter proved useful. In 1393—5 there was great ill-feeling between the dean and the chapter, and so high did animosity become that the friends of the dean and the friends of the canons formed two distinct and somewhat disorderly parties. One winter's night Simon the bell-ringer was making his way back to his lodging after ringing for service; he had got as far as the north porch of the great transept, when suddenly, out of the shadows, seven of the dean's household

sprang upon him. Vainly he tried to get into the church, but the odds were against him, and the door was held fast. Wounded, Simon fell to the ground with blood streaming down his face. Great was the sensation, when service was over and the news spread of what had been done. As soon as day broke a messenger went hot-haste to the bishop at Stow, and Bokyngham saw that a crisis had come. Straightway the bishop took the road, going to the palace, where he called before him his chancellor, John Bottesham, and John Kele, Prebendary of St. Mary Crakepool. Investing them with power to make an inquiry and examine witnesses, the bishop sent them to the cathedral across the road. Many must have been the tales which he heard during the hour or two of waiting for the commissioners' report, but at last they returned and had their interview.

All Lincoln had heard of the scandal, and the cathedral was thronged when it was known that Bokyngham himself would go there to make pronouncement. At length the procession appeared through the Galilee porch, and in solemn judicial fashion the bishop took his seat before the high altar. Rising to his full height he pronounced the minster polluted by the effusion of blood and, so, unfitted for the service of God, until the culprits had confessed and penance had been done. To that intent he cited the guilty persons to appear before him in his court at Stow. Everybody of course knew that the dean was the real, if not the actual, delinquent, and every one appreciated the humour of the case when, on the feast of the Epiphany, the dean was excommunicated in his own cathedral with all the solemnity of bell, book, and candle. The subdean was now at the head of affairs, and it fell to his lot to ask for the cathedral to be reconciled. Bokyngham felt that once the emphasis thus

made, there was no good to be gained in laying further stress on the point, and on the following Wednesday he performed the reconciliation. The dean did not escape so lightly, for the Court of Canterbury took the matter in hand, and on February 18 the archbishop pronounced sentence, ordering the dean and his accomplices to pay the bishop twenty marks for his trouble in reconciling the church.

Such was one of the incidents which would bring a bishop of Lincoln to his cathedral city. Happily scandals of the kind were not frequent, and the palace seems to have been little used during the fourteenth century. Probably the older buildings had fallen into disrepair when William Alnwick was translated from Norwich to Lincoln in 1436. A monk of St. Albans, taking his name from his birthplace, Alnwick had won a reputation for learning and holiness which gained for him the confidence of both Henry V. and his son. He was promoted to the Bishopric of Norwich in 1426, and was well known as a prosecutor of Lollards. At Lincoln he set to work to heal the dissensions of the chapter, and in 1439 he issued the *Laudum* or award, by which the cathedral has been practically governed down to the present day. The love of architecture he had shown at Norwich—where he restored the west front of the cathedral—prompted him to build the south wing of the schools at Cambridge and soon set him to work on his palace at Lincoln. The bishop's private quarters were probably both old fashioned and incomplete, so that Alnwick was justified in adding an east wing in which were a chapel, two halls, a study, and other chambers. These he connected with the older work by the beautiful tower which bears his name; this stands at the north-east corner of the hall and gave access to it, to the new wing, to the kitchen, court, and to what is now the drive.

As this building of Alnwick's completed the old palace, it may be well to give here a short description of the whole structure as it must have appeared at this time. The whole space enclosed was a quadrilateral of about three acres sloping rapidly down the hill with its northern end many feet higher than its southern bounds. The entrance was probably at the extreme north-east corner near the present gateway, though that dates only from the time of Bishop Smith (1496—1514) whose arms surmount it. Passing through the gate a courtyard was probably reached, for the chapel wing lay on the south, and there are signs of ancient fire-places on the bounding north wall. A little further west the court widened; on the site of the present house were more buildings, but of them little is known, though a long structure containing about eight rooms was still standing there in 1660 and was known as "the officers' lodging." South of this and on a lower level was a further range of buildings, to which must have belonged the fire-places shown in the lower wall in Buck's drawing of 1726. The whole of the eastern side of this upper court was occupied by the great hall, built between 1200 and 1224. The best idea of it may be gained from the survey taken by order of the House of Commons, which describes it as "very faire, large, lightsome, of strong freestone, buildinge, in good repaire, being 60 foote of assize in breadth, and 90 foot of assize longe. The form of building consisteth of one large middle allye and two out iles on eyther syde, with 8 gray marble pillars, bearing up the arches of freestone in the form of a large church, having large and faire freestone windows, very full of stories in paynted glasse of the kinges of this land. The fyre is used in the middle of the hall. The roofe is very stronge tymber covered all over with leade.

The proporcon of it is much lyke the bodye of Christe Church in London." St. Hugh had planned his hall as an oblong with sides broken only by windows, in which he set the new fashioned transom, so that a casement might be inserted when the bishop was there. But Alnwick found the design too severe, and in the north-west corner he built the bay window with its stone seat and the little turret stair which still remain. In depth this window almost corresponded to St. Hugh's great porch, which opened at the south-west corner into the upper court. Even as late as 1784 Grimm drew this porch, showing how its arcading rivalled in beauty that of the cathedral choir. Very lovely too was the south wall of the hall, where, adorned with carving, a door led southward to the kitchen, and was flanked on either side by doors to butteries. From the slope of the ground the kitchen could not lie close next to the butteries, but was some thirteen feet beyond, and was gained through a passage over a kind of bridge. Furnished with five fire-places this room was well fitted for cooking the enormous joints then used; moreover it was a pleasant room, for windows looked southward over the city and a door led downstairs to the open air of the kitchen court on the east. The only room in this block above the ground floor of which we have certain knowledge is the bishop's solar or private apartment. This was gained from the hall by a small turret stair placed in the extreme south-west corner between the porch and the western buttery. The room above was lightsome and pleasant, for two windows looked south over the city to the hills and distant Trent. Between them was the fire-place, and on the wall were marble corbels to uphold the vaulted roof above the hangings which covered the walls with manifold colours and designs. It must have been in

this room that, on one December day in 1351, the chapter and precentor made up in Bishop Gynwell's presence their quarrel over the choice of a schoolmaster for the choir-boys, and it would be here that the bishop would give the new prebendary seisin of his dignity with a book or loaf of bread.

Though the room was beautiful it is quite possible to see the inconvenience of an approach to it up so narrow a stair and through the great hall where the whole household met, and Alnwick accordingly built a distinct range of buildings to the east, leaving a small court—the kitchen court—between. The new wing was joined to the old by the fine Alnwick Tower, with its four doors—one into the modern drive, one into the north-east corner of the great hall, and two to the south, one opening into the kitchen court and looking over its slope to the hills, the other leading into a passage which ran down south with windows on to the kitchen court. The Parliamentary Survey records that in 1649—51, as earlier, there opened from this passage two rooms, the lesser hall and the dining-room, each with windows looking on to the court round which the block was built. The north end of this court was formed by the parlour with the chapel above, while the south was blocked by the study with windows looking south over the countryside. The chapel was Alnwick's special care: he dedicated it to the Virgin, the patroness of Lincoln, and filled the windows with painted glass wherein were quaint Latin verses coupling his name with hers. Under the chapel was a parlour with a bay window looking into the inner court, and a dais marked off on the floor of coloured tiles by a yellow line. At the western end of the room was a pantry, and at the west a stone sideboard was let into the wall beneath an arched recess, with a door on either side leading, one to a cellar, the

other to the little hall. There was, too, a stone fire-place here, and a private kitchen and a well were close at hand. Indeed, beneath the whole of this range of buildings there were cellars—some for storage, one for a brew-house, others for uses conjectural only. Now these deep underground rooms are all that are intact, for the state-rooms have gone, and to the chambers that must have been above imagination is the only guide.

Such was the palace when Henry VII. passed Easter there in 1486, "and full like a christen prince, herd his dyvyne service in the cathedrall churche and in no privie chapell. And, on Shere Tharsday he had in the Bishops Hall XXX poore men, to whom he humbly and cristenly, for Crist love, with his noble handes, did wessh ther fete, and gave as great almes, like as other his noble progenitours, kynges of England, have been accustomed aforetyme."

There is a sort of fitness in the fact that Wolsey was for a few months in 1514, Bishop of Lincoln, for his career may serve as a type of the fate of his palace, that from the height of its splendour passed in a few years to desolation and decay. When Wolsey was translated to York he was succeeded at Lincoln by his friend, William Atwater, who, like Wolsey, seems to have done little or nothing to the palace; indeed, his financial position probably did not allow of it, for in 1514 he borrowed from Henry VIII. £600—a considerable sum at that date. He was followed by one whose magnificent displays were the last the palace should see. John Longland was the king's almoner and confessor in 1521, when he was promoted to Lincoln on the death of Atwater, and had won much favour with Henry VIII. by his preaching. Longland was not, however, entirely subservient, or even as submissive as Cromwell and his master had expected; but at

the same time he was one of Henry's most enthusiastic supporters, both in the matter of the divorce and of his independence of Rome. This is the more interesting in face of More's eulogy of the bishop as a second Colet, both in regard to his preaching and the purity of his life. His office as confessor gave him peculiar intimacy with Henry's motives, and that a man of Longland's rectitude should have taken Henry's part is much in the king's favour.

Longland was, in fact, a perfect epitome of the Anglican position. The Pope he had come to abhor—by what process is not clear—the rights and doctrines of the Church he upheld, and the supremacy of the king he maintained. It is not perhaps surprising to find that he was popularly misjudged. In his fashion he was severely orthodox, and he was hated for the way in which poor people were "indited for small matters of pretended heresy." But while he was thus disliked, and not without reason, by the reforming party, he was in no more favour with the upholders of the old state of things. The rebels who disturbed the north by their Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 especially singled Longland out as one of the royal ministers who had brought about the religious changes of the last few years. As they marched through the country-side, headed by a banner bearing the marks of the Five Wounds of Christ, they sang a party-song; the last verse runs:—

"Crim, Crame, and Riche,
With thre lll and the liche
As sum men teache
God theym amend.
And that Aske may
Without delay
Here make a stay
And well to end."

The first line refers to Cromwell, Cranmer, Richard Riche; the "thre lll" were Longland, Dr. Legh, and Dr. Layton; while by "the liche" was meant the Bishop of Lichfield, almost equally obnoxious to the pilgrims.

Longland was too careful an administrator to neglect his estates, and under him the palace was as well maintained as it had been by any of his predecessors, and so great was its state that in 1541 it was held sufficient for royal entertainment.

Great must have been the preparations in the late spring of 1541, when it became known that the king would go on progress to the north to meet the King of Scots, and would take with him his bride, Catherine Howard, and a many fitted to his rank. The state-rooms of the palace were freshly adorned, and painters wrought in proper colours on the walls the arms of the royal pair and those of Brotherton and other sons of ancient kings. All these preparations must have been made at Longland's order by his stewards and servants, for the bishop himself was with the king.

At length, on a Tuesday morning early in August, the news spread through the city that the king had reached Temple Bruer for dinner, and so was but seven miles away. The townsfolk made their last preparations, and with them joined the gentry of the shire, who furnished the guard of honour that lined the streets where the king should pass. At the farthest end of the liberty of the city tents were pitched for the king, the queen, and for her ladies, and here, as one of the heralds has told us, they "dyd shyfte theyre apparrell, for his Grace was apparelleyd before he cam to hys tent in Greene veluet, and the quene in Crymesyn veluet, and then the kinge shyfted hym into clothe of golde, and the quene into clothe of sylver." The Lady Mary was there, but her dress

is not recorded, and we can imagine that it was with rather a bad grace that she rode through the city where one of the last efforts had been made to maintain that state of affairs which she had so much to heart. Brave indeed must have been the sight as "aftre that everye thynge was sett in good ordre," and the king had received deputations from city and chapter, the train wound its way through the city and up "the height." First of all went the heralds in their tabards of many colours, then the gentlemen and pensioners with the nobles, including the ambassador of France ready to criticize and decry. "My Lorde Hastinges" bore the sword before the king who, on a great charger, was impressive in spite of his enormous bulk, and was this time very ready to be pleased. Behind him six children of honour, dressed in cloth of gold and crimson velvet, were followed by the queen's chamberlain. Then came the queen, hardly yet used to royal honours, and perhaps conscious of the burden of the day. Her ladies attended her, and then rode the captain of the guard, with some sixty or eighty bowmen with bows drawn. Decorations were everywhere; Lincoln can never have shown more colour, more movement, or more variety than on that summer day when Henry VIII. brought there his queen. We do not know what road was followed, but in any case the sharpness of the ascent must have made the progress slow. Perhaps "the Steep" was the way they took; at any rate, while all the bells of the city rang, and the townsfolk and countrymen shouted their huzza, the procession passed beneath the Chequer Gate, and halted at the west door of the minster, while the mayor and his brethren stood aside. At the great door stood the bishop with the cross and choir "gyving attendance." Where the king was to alight a carpet had

been spread and set with stools with "quyssheons" of cloth of gold—one for the king whereon a crucifix was laid, and another for the queen's grace. "After his Grace was kneeled downe, the bishop in his mitre came forth of the church and gave the crucifix to the king to kiss, and then to the queen, and then censed them and offered them blessed water." In solemn wise king and queen advanced beneath a canopy, while the choir sang the canticle *Summa Trinitate*; down the aisle through the screen to the high altar they went, and there before the Sacrament the free-will offering was made. On such a high occasion St. Hugh put in his claim, and to the head and to the shrine the procession moved, and then on to the palace "*cum honore*," or as the herald puts it: "And aftre this don, his Grace went strayght to his lodgings, and in lyke case all the trayne for that nigght."

Where the train was bestowed is indeed a problem. Our knowledge of the palace is almost entirely confined to the rooms of ceremony, or, at any rate, to those more immediately used by the bishop and his personal servants. The list of them raises some wonder as to how the king, the queen, and the bishop could have been lodged there with any comfort even for one night, far less for several days. The queen, we know, was lodged in one of the chambers of state, close by which a little stairway led up to the room of Jane Lady Rochford, her lady-in-waiting—that indiscreet lady who was not merely a cousin of Catherine Howard, but had been kin to Anne Boleyn. Most unhappily in the royal train was Thomas Culpepper, gentleman of the king's privy chamber and cousin—afterwards some said lover—of the queen. Both queen and esquire were Lincolnshire folk, and it must have been strange for both to come back in such magnificence to a country where she had been so neglected as a child, and he

had been one of her few early friends. It may have been with something of this in her mind that one night Catherine went up to Lady Rochford's room, taking with her the two women, Margot, and Catherine Tylney. The women were soon dismissed, and Catherine went to bed, though Margot, either uneasy or more in the queen's confidence, went up again "eftsoons." The door to the "litle payr of stayres by the quenes chamber" was not the only entrance to Lady Rochford's room, for there was also a back stair with a door below leading into the open air. Up this stair Lady Rochford admitted Culpepper for an interview with the queen. What really passed will never be known, though Culpepper confessed that he told Catherine of his love; Lady Rochford had retired to the other end of the room and afterwards declared that she had slept. Margot must have known something of what passed, for it was two o'clock when she went to bed, and answered a yawning companion's exclamation of "Jhesus, is not the quene abedde yet?" with a short, tired "Yes, even nowe." But if this first meeting here was indiscreet, still more so was the second. Catherine Tylney was again in attendance, but stayed with Lady Rochford's woman in a little alcove outside while the queen was in her kinswoman's chamber. It grew late; Culpepper did not come. As the queen and her lady waited by the back door the watch came past with his torch, and seeing the door unfastened down below, locked it and passed on. We can imagine the consternation of the women, standing there with every nerve tense and the knowledge of Queen Anne's fate ever before their eyes. They had not very long to wait; Culpepper and his servant found the door, and found it locked. To have picked a heavy lock of that day without attracting attention argues some skill, and tends to show

that the stairway opened on a quiet inner court where few would pass. Culpepper once safely upstairs, Lady Rochford on her own showing, went fast asleep, and only woke when the queen called her to answer one of her women who knocked at the door.

Whatever the truth in regard to these interviews—and their indiscretion must be admitted—such were the intrigues round the queen that they were bound to be interpreted in the worst possible light. The secret meetings at Lincoln were not the only ones, and formed only part of the indictment against Thomas Culpepper, under which, in November of that same year, he was convicted of treason and sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered; a few days later Catherine Howard met her fate at the block.

The junketings that marked the royal visit to Lincoln must have been among the last festivities at the palace. Longland died at Woburn on May 7, 1547; his heart was brought to Lincoln and buried before the high altar of his cathedral. Over it was built a "fair tomb" of marble, with the legend, punning on his name: "*Longa terra mansura eius; Dominus dedit.*" Longland had shown unusual strength of character in his relations with the Crown, but his successor, Henry Holbeach, or Raundes, as he has been called, was a weak man set in times of peculiar difficulty. The see of Lincoln was richly endowed, so that its bishops could well keep their state as princes of the Church. To Henry VIII. this seemed fitting; his theory of the relations of Church and State postulated magnificence in the rulers of the Church of which he was supreme head upon earth. The idea had no meaning for his son's ministers, who saw in the estates of the bishops still unsurrendered—and grabable—ecclesiastical land. In pursuance of this notion the Crown, in 1549,

demanded the surrender of the manors and lands held by the see. Holbeach was driven into a corner, and finally complied, receiving in "exchange" various livings and impropriations which brought but little revenue, and for that reason were abandoned by the Crown. Buckden, Nettleham, and a few acres were indeed spared, but proved rather a burden than a blessing, as the expenses of maintaining them were great. Of necessity some economies must be made, and to Holbeach and his successors the simplest plan seemed to be the abandonment of the palace at Lincoln and of Buckden in favour of the simpler grange at Nettleham, but a few miles from the city. Bleak and exposed to the full force of the weather, the palace was rarely repaired and still more rarely visited; that its beauty survived the next sixty years of neglect is at once a marvel and a mystery.

In 1621 Bishop Monteigne, translated to York, was succeeded by John Williams who was at once a scholar and a man of much administrative energy. He made himself immediately popular, so that even the bitter critic of "Three Looks over Lincoln" was bound to confess that he "carried himselfe so affably and discreetly unto all, that he had the publike applause of all people," and this in spite of Visitation Articles, which seemed to many "not onely gross absurdities, but likewise a meere confirming of Canterburies former opinions."

With characteristic decision Williams began to reorganize the episcopal estates, and one of his reforms was the abandonment of Nettleham. His first step was to sue the executor of Monteigne for dilapidations; the house had not been used by the bishops for more than eighty years, and the greater part of it had already fallen. The executor complained that to repair it would absorb the whole of the

late archbishop's estate, and petitioned the king to order its demolition. The question was referred to Bishop Neile of Winchester, who had been translated to that see from Lincoln, and to Bishop Williams himself. The two prelates reported in favour of destruction, adding that they could not conceive in what kind the house at Nettleham had ever been useful, seeing that it was so near Lincoln and had so little demesne land attached.

It was, indeed, one of Williams's most cherished hopes that the palace at Lincoln might become as much a seat of his successors as Buckden had hitherto been. The neglect since the time of Bishop Neile had been lamentable, and in Hacket's quaint phrasing, "it did seem irreparable in the Delapidations, and workmen did ask so much, as the Neighbours of the Close did think it would deter the Master of it." The economies in regard to Nettleham and his own private fortune put Williams in a position to carry out the work of repair, and in three years' time the palace was once more not only habitable but beautiful. Williams appears to have spent some time here, and he always took a deep interest in the affairs of the city. While promoting a scheme for the assistance of the poor he tried also to raise the level of scholarship in the diocese, "and because," his biographer writes, "he found a decay of Learning in those remote Parts, for want of good Books, he designed it among his good Deeds to provide a Remedy, another Store-house for Authors of all Arts and Sciences." There was probably a small library at the palace already, for in 1639 some books which seem to have been given to the cathedral by James I., were kept there, and were in that year ordered to be removed to the old library of the cathedral, probably to separate them from the bishop's new books. These he obtained by the

JOHN WILLIAMS, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.
From a print in the British Museum.

purchase of the library of Dr. Day, Rector of St. Faith's, London, who had been well supplied with books by the Stationers' Company, Stationers' Hall being in his parish. The books were brought to Lincoln, and stored until the new library should be built.

It is not possible now to determine where this "plasket or coffer to put in the jewels of the Muses" was designed to stand—possibly it was to have been built westward of the great hall, and in continuation of its northern wall, in what was then the upper court, and where the carriage-drive now runs. Hacket speaks of the place as "a yard," and says that timber was already hewn and disposed there for building "a capacious Room." The work had reached this stage when Williams became involved in a Star Chamber prosecution which resulted in his imprisonment in 1637. Herrick had prophesied his release by Charles I., comparing it to the time when—

> "That earthquake shook the house, and gave the stout
> Apostles way unshackled to go out";

but he had hardly foreseen the extent of the convulsion. In 1642 Charles was at Lincoln, trying to rouse the loyalty of the country gentlemen; in the same year Williams was translated to the archiepiscopal see of York, and was succeeded at Lincoln by Thomas Winniffe, who died in the very year of the Restoration, 1660.

Lincoln remained in the possession of the Royalist forces until 1644. A newsletter entitled, "A True Relation of the Taking of the City, Minster, and Castle of Lincoln," describes how, "on Friday last, May 3, my lord of Manchester sat down before Lincolne. And after some small resistance was master of the lower part of the City. The enemy all flying from their outworks, and betaking themselves to their upper

works, to the Minster, and to the Castle, which they conceived to be impregnable."

The whole of the upper part of the city was in a state of siege, for the gates of the close were barred, rendering it difficult to mass troops before the eastern, and principal gate of the castle. On Saturday, May 4, much rain fell, making attack impossible. A storming party tried to carry the position that night, but the ground was too slippery, "the mount whereon the castle stood being nere as steep as the eaves of a house." On the following day news came that Colonel Goringe was bringing relief to the castle, and Cromwell, then a lieutenant-general, was despatched with a force to intercept him. Meanwhile the upper city was being badly mauled on all sides. "A fair tenement," standing between the East Gate and Winnowsty Lane was ruined, as were two houses in North Gate, as well as others. The churches suffered severely, eight being more or less destroyed. Finally the castle was taken by storm in, it is said, half an hour, and at least fifty of its defenders were slaughtered in the bailey. The Close was, however, still intact. The Chequer Gate rushed, the soldiers at once attacked the subdeanery and precentory, which stood just within, and wrought such ruin that in the surveys of 1647—51 both houses are described as having all the habitable part pulled down and taken away by the soldiers. These houses, perhaps, drew the attack from the bishop's palace, which lay immediately to their east; but it is remarkable that the Vicars' Court, on the other side of the palace, was also injured, some of the houses forming "its fair quadrangle" being destroyed. In fine, "all the pillage of the upper town (which was taken by storming) was given to the soldiers."

That the palace did, however, escape with little hurt was

pointed out by Mr. J. G. Williams, in "Lincolnshire Notes and Queries," and seems certain from the account of the building given by the surveyors shortly afterwards. It seems also to have been partly respected by the governor of the castle, Captain Hotham. In his diligence in furnishing the Parliamentary officers with bullets this officer stripped the lead from nearly all the churches of the city, as well as from the roof of the bishop's kitchen, though he left that on the hall in its place. Most of the lead pipes in the palace were also removed by one Emas, an alderman, though he "cold show noe warrant for his soe doinge." So great was the annoyance caused by this seizure of lead that John Broxholme, one of the members for the city, brought it before the notice of the House of Commons, who accordingly commanded that none was to be "meddled with or pulled down or taken away upon any pretence whatever." The order was transmitted to the Earl of Manchester, and was apparently effective, for no further complaint was made.

By an order of the House of Commons the palace, with the rest of the episcopal estates, was vested in trustees, who, in 1647—51, made the survey so often mentioned. They valued the ground, materials, and utilances of the palace at £1,587 12*s.* 1*d.*, and described it as "a very stronge buildinge and in good repaire." Accordingly, when an effort was made to refortify Lincoln Castle, in 1643, the governor was told to remove the prisoners to safe keeping in the palace, where the ancient kitchens probably suggested themselves as suitable dungeons.

The very strength of the palace proved its ruin. By 1648 Lincolnshire was in the hands of the Parliamentary forces, and was under the command of Colonel Rossiter, who was stationed at Belvoir, a position chosen for its strength and

accessibility. Lincoln Castle it was hopeless to fortify, and the city was left in the command of a draper, one Captain Bee, with a force of about a hundred men at his command. On June 1 the Royalists of Southern Yorkshire suddenly rose in support of the Scotch invasion of the northern counties, and took Pontefract, which became the centre of raids in the surrounding county. These excursions were harassing rather than dangerous; but nevertheless the Parliamentary Committee for Safety called a meeting at Lincoln, at which it was resolved to raise a troop of horse for the defence of Belvoir and Tattershall Castles, the only positions either likely to be attacked or strong enough for defence.

The action was justified in the middle of June, when "the Pomfreters," as they were called, seized the Isle of Axholme. The consternation in the city was great when on Friday, June 30, news came that 400 horse dragoons and 200 musketeers had crossed the Trent at Gainsborough Ferry and were marching on Lincoln. The crossing was made at nine o'clock, and in two hours the news had reached the town. Captain Bee was in a desperate position, with no arms, but a hundred men, and the castle untenable. The minster and the palace were the only possible places of defence, and the minster was open to attack on all sides, and was too vast to be held by so small a force. The palace, on the other hand, could only be attacked with ease by a body of horse from the east, where a narrow gateway opened on to the Close. On the rest of its eastern side it was defended by the Vicars' Court and the remains of the old Roman wall; on the north the Close wall hemmed it in, while the west side was thickly built upon, and the escarpment of the hill was an effectual barrier against cavalry on the south. Captain Bee accordingly retired to the palace, taking with him

what arms he could lay hands upon, the city funds, and other valuables.

As for the Royalist forces, according to the newsletter, "about twelve or one o'clock they were come up to Lincolne, where they found the City very unready to oppose them, as not expecting their company so soon." They seem to have met with little opposition, and at once took possession of the minster, which they recognized would be untenable "if not well and speedily manned." They then turned their attention to the palace. It seems probable that Captain Bee had ensconced himself in the hall, for it was this which suffered most severely in the short siege. The gateway was probably soon taken; and Mr. Williams has suggested that it was in the rush that "one Mr. Smith, belonging to the Sequestration" was killed. The chapel wing appears to have been captured without much trouble, for it was little damaged. The great hall met with a different fate. Hacket, when speaking of the timber provided for Williams's projected library, says that it was used by the soldiers for making fortifications; and it seems reasonable to suppose that Captain Bee formed from these planks his barricade. This would also explain the fact that after a siege of three hours the cavaliers succeeded in setting fire to the palace. The roof of the hall seems to have been burnt, and havoc was even done to the Alnwick Tower, so that, until a few years ago, it still bore marks by the window of the second storey showing that the walls had once been red hot. Surrender seemed now the only possible means of escape. That there was possibly an entrance underground beneath the Vicars' Court was probably unknown to Captain Bee, and remained forgotten until rediscovered on building the new palace in 1888; or even if the passage were known it seems

to have been in the hands of the cavaliers. Captain Bee offered to surrender on condition that, among other terms, his person and estate should receive no hurt. These terms were not respected, and the newsletter relates how the Royalists took "Alderman Emas, the mayor of the city, Alderman Dowse, Captain Bee, and all the officers and souldiers, with other prisoners." The soldiers wrecked and partly burnt the palace, and "valiantly plundered the well-affected" Puritans, singling out especially the house of Captain Pert, a well-known Parliamentary officer then serving in Northumberland.

From the first it had been anticipated that the cavaliers could not remain at Lincoln; they had neither a sufficiency of men or provisions, and now they had destroyed the only remaining position capable of defence. In this destruction they had probably fulfilled part of their purpose, and they had also struck a blow at the prestige of the Parliamentary force in the county as well as provided themselves with a bountiful supply of provisions and plunder, including Captain Bee's stock of drapery, with which they retired to Gainsborough on Saturday morning.

But if they had been successful, their action had been very disastrous to the palace. A year before the commissioners had declared that the hall "of y^{t} selffe (by dividinge of y^{t}) might make a dwelling-house with all convenient rooms for use"; now the upper storey had disappeared, and the very walls of the lower hall were reduced to half their height. The chapel wing was, however, little the worse. The commissioners were probably referring to this half of the building and the hall when they pointed out that the palace would "serve (being divided into two equall parts) for two families of honnor," and valued it for this purpose

at £2,000. It is uncertain at what date the palace passed into the hands of James Berry, one of Cromwell's major-generals, but he was certainly living there in 1655. In his hands considerable alterations were made to the ruins. The chapel wing was converted into a house, and the chapel itself divided into two storeys by placing a floor half way up its walls. A small chamber with sharply pitched roof and dormer windows was built on the top of the Alnwick Tower, which must have been partly restored; and dormer windows also lighted chambers made in the roof of the chapel wing. As a busy soldier Berry needed large stables, and these he built all along the western side of the great hall, quite enclosing the remains of Alnwick's bow window. The hall itself was apparently converted into a stable-yard. Berry was not without some idea of his own dignity and importance. Originally a clerk in ironworks in the west of England, he had lived with Richard Baxter who called him his "old bosom friend." Later he had taken service under Cromwell, and procured Baxter's nomination as chaplain to his troop; the friendship of the two men, however, waned, and Baxter complained that Berry came to regard the old Puritan ministers as dull, self-conceited men. But although he regretted Berry's change of views he admitted his sincerity, saying, that "all this was promoted by the misunderstanding of Providence, while he only thought that God, by their victories, had so called them to look after the government of the land, and so entrusted them with the welfare of all his people here, that they were responsible for it, and might not in conscience stand still while anything was done that they thought was against the interest which they judged to be the interest of the people of God." It was natural that with such a character and with a certain

amount of military skill Berry should become a favourite with Cromwell, to whom he was acting as his captain-lieutenant, when in 1643 he followed Charles Cavendish into a morass and slew him at the battle of Gainsborough. He was one of the spokesmen for the army in its dispute with Parliament in 1647, and was chosen president of the Council of Adjutators. In 1655 he and Major-General Whalley were appointed by the Council of State as commissioners to settle the disputes which had arisen between the Mayor of Lincoln and " well-affected " aldermen and the other town councillors, some of whom were Royalists.

In this year also he was involved in a dispute which illustrates the temper of the new owner of the palace. The minster had been much damaged in the various sieges of the last few years, and the glass of its windows had suffered. It was still used as a place of worship, one Reyner being minister. He and his congregation felt the cold as it swept in through the windows of the nave while they listened to or gave the lengthy sermons of the period, and they accordingly petitioned the Parliamentary Committee for permission to move the pulpit eastward and out of the draught. Unfortunately in doing this they blocked up access to the bishop's throne. Now Berry maintained that in purchasing the palace " with appurtenances " he purchased the right to sit in the throne. He was, perhaps, not very popular, for his claim was resisted. An influential man, he had friends on the Council of State, and to these he applied: President Henry Lawrence wrote to the Committee ordering them to see that Berry's just demand was satisfied.

In this same year Berry was employed in suppressing the Royalist rising in Nottinghamshire, and a few months later he was made major-general for Herefordshire, Shropshire,

and Wales, where he was very unpopular among the gentry, who, as Baxter says, "had known his inferiority" in his youth. He was now at the height of his power, and was nominated by Cromwell as one of his House of Peers; but on his leader's death Berry was foremost among those who procured Richard Cromwell's downfall. As a member of the Committee of Safety constituted by the army in 1659, his engagement to live peaceably was especially required at the Restoration, and being suspected by General Monk he was imprisoned in Scarborough Castle. He was still confined there in 1663, when his wife Mary petitioned the king for the release of her husband, "an aged and peaceable man," or at least "for liberty of the castle and free access for herself and children to him." In September of the same year Berry was the only prisoner in the castle, though he had more freedom. His ultimate fate is uncertain, Baxter declared that he was released and became a gardener; Professor Firth, in the "Dictionary of National Biography," thought that he remained a prisoner until his death; while Mr. Clephan, in his "Remembrance of the Rev. C. Berry," maintained that he was the Lieutenant-Colonel Berry who in 1689 was second in command at Newton Butler.

The palace stood, in 1660, a desolate ruin among the trees on the hillside, dropping slowly to decay. Even the chapel wing was deserted, for with the Restoration Colonel Berry's wife had lost her home, and had gone north to be near her husband's prison. The palace was restored to the see, but Bishop Sanderson was dying, and nothing was done for a time; his successor, Benjamin Laney, was translated to Ely in 1667, having been Bishop of Lincoln for too short a time to leave any permanent trace on his diocese.

In September, 1667, William Fuller was elected to the

vacant bishopric. An ardent Royalist, he had suffered severely in the Civil War, and had maintained himself by keeping a school at Twickenham. On the Restoration he was given the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and restored that cathedral. Shortly afterwards he was made Bishop of Limerick, and Pepys, a great friend of his, described him as "one of the comeliest and most becoming prelates in all respects that ever I saw in my life." Fuller's promotion to Lincoln was a great joy to the diarist.

But though Fuller, when holding his Irish preferments, had spent the greater part of his time in England he held strong views as to the duty of a bishop, and was determined to have a house at Lincoln that he might be in the midst of his diocese. It was evident that no attempt could be made to restore the palace, and the dwelling which Berry had formed from the chapel was neither large enough nor convenient for a bishop's dwelling. In the Close, however, the dean and chapter owned a house, of which the tenant, Sir Adrian Scrope, had recently died. The situation of the house—now Nos. 4 and 5, Pottergate—was pleasant, with its view of the cathedral from the front and the green of the chancellor's orchard and gardens behind; and, moreover, the house was a substantial building suited to a person of quality. Bishop Fuller was enthroned by proxy on September 30, 1667, but came to Lincoln shortly afterwards, and seems, as Canon Venables showed in "Lincolnshire Notes and Queries," to have chosen this house as the most convenient for his purpose. The executors or assignees of Sir Adrian accordingly sublet it to him, and so pleasant did the bishop find it that he proposed to Dean Honeywood that he should become the tenant in fact. Accordingly, in February, 1668, the dean, precentor, and chancellor met at

the deanery and decreed that—"whereas the Bishop of Lincolne's house in Lincolne was in ye late tymes of confusion pulled downe and utterly defaced, whereby his lordship is destitute of a convenient habitation in ye County of Lincolne, the dean and chapter, considering ye great benefitt which would accrewe to ye church and city and whole diocese of Lincolne by the presence of their diocesan, have designed that house in the Close lately in the tenure of Sir Adrian Scrope or his assignees to be reserved for the onely use and dwelling of the bishop and his successors on such reasonable terms and conditions as shall be agreed upon by the bishop and dean and chapter for ye tyme being when it shall come into their hands, and that therefore the lease in being of that house shall not upon any terms be renewed, but suffered to expire"—they would lease it to the bishop. Accordingly, when the lease expired in 1675, the house was assigned to Bishop Fuller and his successors in the see for the term of twenty-one years at a rent of £4, which was annexed to the Minster Fabric Fund; a stipulation was included that the lease should be rendered null if the bishop or his successors "granted, alienated, or sold" the house, thus indicating the genuine desire of the chapter for the bishop's residence in Lincoln—a state of affairs very different to that noticeable in the fourteenth century.

On April 22, 1675, Bishop Fuller died, and with him departed all desire on the part of his successors to live at Lincoln until the nineteenth century brought with it new ideals of episcopal duty. Fuller's successor was Thomas Barlow, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, who had long determined to seize the next vacant see. So great was his haste that he obtained the bishopric on the very day of Fuller's death, and on April 23 was despatched the *congé*

d'élire to the dean and chapter. A very learned man, Willis says of him in his "Survey" that he was "esteemed a thorough-paced Calvinist, and consequently no friend to his order; insomuch that while he sate bishop he was remarkable for having never visited any part of his diocese in person, or been ever in all his life at Lincoln." In this last accusation, however, Willis was mistaken, for when Dean Honeywood wrote to him in the hope that he would maintain the house at Lincoln, Barlow replied that "he had seen and loved Lincoln, and thought it the best place for his abode," adding that "he must, however, for some reasons, reside awhile at Buckden." But it was some time before he even went to Buckden, for on May 29, 1675, he wrote to Sir Joseph Williamson, the secretary of State, saying, that as his confirmation, consecration, fees, first fruits, etc., would cost him £2,000 or £1,500 before he received a penny from his bishopric he would get into debt unless he were allowed to stay at Queen's until the following Lady Day. Further, he asked that he "might have the benefit of his sinecure and archdeaconry that he might have something to live on till the revenue came in." In spite of remonstrances from Halifax, among others, and in spite of the fact that a house was awaiting him at Lincoln, Barlow refused to leave Buckden, and so notorious did his attitude become that he was universally known as the "Bishop of Buckden."

The history of the house which was for so short a time the episcopal palace may be briefly summarized. For many years the dean and chapter kept it vacant in the somewhat forlorn hope that Barlow might change his mind; finally, they lost patience, and on September 4, 1686, they granted it on lease to William Farmery of Thavies Inn, and the brother-in-law of Bishop Fuller. He sublet the house to

Mr. Dobell, who on October 27, 1695, found it sufficiently large and convenient for the entertainment of William III., then on his way from Bolton to Welbeck; indeed, he gave a large banquet there, and in all spent, it is said, £500 on the evening's amusement. Mr. Farmery surrendered the lease on April 9, 1696, and it was then leased for twenty-one years to Thomas Pownall, sometime Governor of New Jersey and of South Carolina, who afterwards obtained an extension of the term to forty years. He died in 1705, and the house was again leased. Later, it was divided into two tenements, and it is still occupied as private dwellings.

In the meantime, the house once occupied by Colonel Berry was still held by tenants, the first of whom was one James Debiah, clerk. The place was probably neglected and suffered to fall into disrepair, though, if Buck's view taken in 1726, may be trusted, the chapel wing and Alnwick Tower were still substantial buildings. There was also a great mass of dislodged but undecayed stone, and in 1726, when question arose of repairing the cathedral, dean, chapter, and bishop saw in the palace an economical quarry. A faculty from the Archbishop of Canterbury and a royal licence fortified Bishop Reynold's grant, and when, in 1727, the site was leased to Dr. Nelthorpe it was on condition that the chapter might, for two years more, take what stone they desired. Dr. Nelthorpe set to work to build a new house using the materials of the chapel wing which he razed; he was succeeded in the tenancy by Mrs. Amcotts, who made such additions that the house was now of considerable size, and a clause was inserted in the lease by which every succeeding tenant held it on condition of affording entertainment to the bishop when his business brought him to Lincoln. The house remained unchanged until the beginning of the

nineteenth century, when Mr. Charles Mainwaring became the tenant. One of his first acts was to clear away the stables, which had covered the western side of the great hall since the days of Colonel Berry. He was amply rewarded for his pains, for the great oriel of Bishop Alnwick came to light as well as the other windows on that side, all of which had been walled up. The remainder of the hall was then cleared, care being taken to preserve as much as possible of the stone. To replace these stables he built the present block between the gateway and the Alnwick Tower, and just to the north of the old chapel wing. He then turned to the ruins which were beyond hope of repair, and did much to preserve them by clearing away the rubbish and weeds which covered them. To him also is owing the second gateway, which stands within that of Bishop Smith. Mr. Mainwaring also made various improvements to the house itself—the chief, perhaps, being the construction of a terrace running between the great porch of the hall to steps at the south-east corner of the house, and overhanging the lower court. This, then, was the condition of the house in 1863, when Bulwer Lytton described it in "A Strange Story."

Profoundly as the industrial revolution has changed the whole fabric of society it has had almost as revolutionary an effect upon the external side of the Church of England, and in the organization of no diocese has this been more keenly evident than in that of Lincoln, which, stretching from the Humber to the Thames, included the Counties of Leicester, Huntingdon, Rutland, Oxford, Northampton, and Nottingham, in addition to Lincoln, the second largest county in the kingdom.

In 1858 the diocese was divided, and Buckden, now without its bounds, was disposed of by the Ecclesiastical

Commissioners. The loss was a relief, for the estate was too large to be maintained by the see so much impoverished by Bishop Holbeach, even although the revenue had been increased by the annexation of the Prebend of Buckden, and by the commissioners in the nineteenth century. The commissioners were careful in their choice of a new seat for the bishop to find one both of moderate size and near the cathedral city. Why they did not restore the Old Palace, as it was called, seems mysterious; but there is probably truth in the confession one of their number made that they had no idea of the charm of the place. The notion of a palace at Lincoln did not occur to them.

The house which is now part of the palace, was, however, already in the hands of the bishop. From the first certain rooms had been reserved for episcopal use at times of visitation, and so forth; and in 1804, for instance, a clergyman went to the palace to be instituted by Bishop Tomline, though hitherto his institutions had always been at Buckden. But whereas the visits of Bishop Tomline were occasional, Bishop Wordsworth made it a rule when living at Riseholme to be at the palace every Friday, except when on a Confirmation tour or his annual holiday, to meet his clergy, following in this his predecessor, Bishop Kaye, who had taken the lease into his own hands.

In 1873 the palace was put to a new use. Bishop Wordsworth, who was a keen educationalist as well as a strenuous bishop, was much struck by the need of better training for divinity students, and especially for those for whom a university career was impossible. In May, 1870, he attended a service at the minster, at which Edward W. Benson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, but then Prebendary of Heydour, preached a sermon on this subject.

The archbishop afterwards told how, as they came away, Wordsworth said to him that some day he must come to Lincoln as chancellor and "restore the schools of the prophets." Three years later his plan was afoot. At Benson's suggestion the name of the ancient Scholæ Cancellarii was revived—this having been the title by which the ancient school of the chancellor was known in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Two lecture-rooms were fitted up in the palace, and the scholæ opened with two students. The number grew steadily, and more lecture-rooms were needed than the palace could afford. Some one suggested that the Alnwick Tower might be repaired and would yield two fine rooms. The bishop welcomed the idea, and gave for the restoration the £1,000 raised in the diocese to reimburse him for his expenses in the Great Cotes case. Considerable restoration was necessary. The drawing made by Grimm in 1784 shows the tower perfect up to the first storey, though a sapling grew in the broken oriel window, and all was open to the rain and weather. The tower was much in this state in 1876, but on February 24 the first stone for its restoration was laid. The work went rapidly forward, and the building was then fitted up for lecture-rooms, which were used by the students until the scholæ removed to their new quarters in what is now Wordsworth Street.

It was then determined to employ the tower for a new purpose. Its fireproof qualities had been rigorously tested in the Civil War, and it seemed an excellent storehouse for the episcopal records. To receive them the upper room of the tower was fitted with wooden presses and shelves—part being divided off by a wooden screen to form a search-room, which was furnished with table and chairs. The spacious

lower chamber with its wide windows was, at the same time, furnished as an office for the bishop's legal secretary, who there carries on his business in a calm disturbed only by the flutter of pigeons against the window or the harsh cry of peacocks from below.

In 1888 the history of the palace began a fresh chapter. The inconvenience of Riseholme, two miles from the city and distant from trains, had been much felt, and especially after the succession of Dr. Edward King to the bishopric in 1885. After some discussion the Ecclesiastical Commissioners agreed to sell Riseholme, and to enlarge the house at Lincoln to a suitable size that the bishops might once more inhabit their palace in the cathedral city. This was accordingly done. The old house was retained as the north wing, and to this a long southern block was added, extending along the terrace built by Mr. Mainwaring and reaching as far as the porch of the great hall. The situation was very beautiful; Lord Lytton in "A Strange Story" described how "the town stretched, far and wide, below with all its numberless lights; below—but somewhat distant; an intervening space was covered, here by the broad triangle (in the midst of which stood, massive and lonely, the grand old church); and there, by the gardens and scattered cottages or mansions that clothed the sides of the hill." His words still hold good, and the wide rooms of the palace and the terraces below stand open to the wind and to the sun.

Perhaps the most beautiful part of the palace is the domestic chapel, built a few years ago on the spot once occupied by the bishop's solar. Raised on the ancient archway which leads west to the upper garden from the kitchen court, its stone looks blanched against its surroundings, and from the city beneath it seems poised in mid-air. Within it

is decked with all the skill of the modern craftsman, and though it must lack much of the colour, yet it may be that it exceeds in dignity, the desecrated chapel that lies below.

Sitting at the close of the day in the aery of the ruins, with the Trent showing bright in the sunset, although many miles away, while the mist lowers over the factory chimneys and the shadows thicken in the streets which lie open to the view, there comes a sense of space, of the vastness of time, of manifold plans and coloured hopes not yet fulfilled. So many men have passed this way, and for all the palace has been the same: a stimulus, a symbol of lordship and service, a low amen.

The Palace of Norwich

THE history of the episcopal palace of Norwich begins, like that of the great cathedral which overshadows it, with the bishop who settled the wandering East Anglian see in this city. The first step to this change was probably taken by Herbert de Losinga, in 1094. Three years before, when head of the wealthy abbey of Ramsey, he had bought his bishopric of the king for a great sum of money, and from the very moment of his consecration the sin of simony had lain as a heavy burden on his conscience. In defiance of William Rufus who, as the Anglo-Saxon chronicle tersely relates, when weather-bound at Hastings on his way to Normandy, took his staff from Herbert Losang, Bishop of Thetford," he left the country to obtain absolution from the Pope. This he won on condition that he should found religious houses and build churches in proof of his repentance. At the same time Urban II. gave him leave to remove his see, and Herbert must have made his peace with the king soon afterwards, for the change was effected in the following year. Then, in fulfilment of the papal injunction, the bishop began his cathedral. He bought of the king the Cowholm—a great riverside meadow east of the city, at that time part of the royal manor of Thorpe—and acquired from Roger Bigod, in exchange for some estates in Suffolk, the earl's palace and the "land of St. Michael, which is called Tombland." On this

site the building began in 1096—king, nobles, and people all contributing to the work, and the bishop himself bearing no small share of the expense. The south side of the cathedral was chosen for the home of the Benedictine monks who were to have charge of it, and by 1101 the monastery had become a habitable building, and the church was ready for consecration. Then Bishop Herbert turned his attention to his own dwelling. He chose for it the site which the episcopal palace has always occupied, building, as the Norwich chronicler relates, north of the cathedral that the peace of the monastery might be undisturbed by the going to and fro of the many whose presence was indispensable to him.

Some remains of this first palace have survived to the present day. Its main body seems to have extended northwards from the north aisle of the cathedral to which it was attached until the middle of the last century. Here, in the place of the modern drawing-room, was the hall, and beneath it a long, low undercroft with a barrel roof, strengthened by Norman arches from wall to wall. This, like the massive walls of the square vault adjoining it, which has been adapted to its present use as a kitchen from the fifteenth century, was undoubtedly part of the original house, and the outline of a Norman window on the floor above shows that the upper walls are chiefly of the same date. A half-buried Norman doorway, in the long wing which runs eastward from the main building and now contains the dining-room, is another relic of the founder's work. In 1859 the site of Bishop Herbert's chapel was fixed by excavations which disclosed a semi-circular apse beneath the foundations of its successor. It stood east of, and apart from the palace, being probably of the same dimensions, 132 feet long by 20 feet wide, as Bishop Salmon's chapel which replaced it.

Herbert de Losinga's letters, of which a considerable number have been preserved, contain several references to the progress of the mother-church, in which the work of his later years was centred, but no mention of his own home in Norwich. It must, nevertheless, have been the scene of many activities during his episcopate. Though he was often absent from his diocese on affairs of Church and State—for he was high in favour with William Rufus who had brought him to England, and given him the office of sewer at his Court, and afterwards enjoyed the friendship of Henry I. and Queen Maud—the chroniclers who are loudest in their censures on the simony of his youth all acknowledge that he made full atonement by the virtues and disinterested devotion of his later days. He showed a very special interest in the school of which his monks of Norwich had charge, directing now and again the studies of some of their pupils in his correspondence. One youth, to whom several of his letters are addressed, William Turbe, became prior and afterwards bishop. He must have spent a considerable part of his long episcopate, which lasted from 1146 to 1174, at the palace, but only one incident is recorded in connection with it. About the year 1150 a council was summoned to meet in its garden as a preliminary to the trial of two knights who were accused of conspiring against King Stephen's life. Bishop William presided, and his friend Nigel, Bishop of Ely, the Abbot of St. Edmund's, and several barons were present. When the business for which they were assembled had been disclosed, the abbot rose and claimed the two knights as men of St. Edmund, and answerable only to himself. The exemption of this great and powerful house from their jurisdiction had already been jealously contested by the East Anglian bishops and was destined to be the subject of later dispute, but on

this occasion, as indeed generally, the abbot prevailed, and the case was transferred to his own court. The long-standing rivalry with Bury St. Edmund's, is not, however, a salient feature in William Turbe's career. A man of great learning and piety, but superstitious almost beyond his generation, he is remembered in his own city chiefly for his zealous fostering of the cult of St. William of Norwich—prototype of not a few English boys, reputed to have been murdered by the Jews—and beyond it for his courageous and unswerving loyalty to Becket.

For seventy years after his death the palace was seldom occupied by his successors, though there are a few Early English remains which show that one or more of them must have made some alterations in it. The saintly Walter Calthorpe, or Walter of Suffield, the first to interrupt this series of non-resident prelates, owned six other houses in the diocese, and some of the bishops who came after him seem to have preferred to live at a distance from the city, distracted as it was by the feuds of monks and citizens. In 1272 the struggle between them broke out into open violence. One mediæval chronicler, who describes the havoc wrought by the impious populace of Norwich, asserts that Bishop Walter's chapel of St. Mary in the cathedral where, after his death miracles were said to have been worked at his tomb, the monks' cloister, and the bishop's house had alone escaped the incendiary flames. Modern research has proved how greatly the monkish writers exaggerated the mischief done by their opponents, and divides the blame of the quarrel impartially between the contending parties, but it is likely that on this occasion, and on others, the position of the episcopal palace under the shelter of the great cathedral saved it from injury. For the bishop of that time, Roger of Scarning, a Norfolk

man, like Walter Calthorpe, but resembling him in no other respect, showed himself a strong partisan of the monks, and must have been cordially hated by the citizens, against whom, at a safe distance, he launched his spiritual weapons of interdict and excommunication.

In the last year of this century the see of Norwich came into the hands of a prelate who left his abiding mark both on cathedral and palace. John Salmon is better known in history as a diplomatist and a statesman than as a bishop; but there is evidence enough to prove that he took an active interest in the welfare of his diocese. He was there soon after his appointment, and seven years later spent, it is said, some time at Norwich in adjusting the differences of the monks and citizens. From the accession of Edward II., who sent him abroad on various embassies, until the latter years of his life, when the duties of chancellor were added to his other secular business in England, he can seldom have stayed more than a few days consecutively at the palace. His deep regret at his enforced absence from his diocese was expressed in a letter, still extant, to the Prior of Norwich; and his generous benefactions both to cathedral and monastery testified to his sincere affection for them. The changes made by Bishop Salmon in the palace probably date from 1319, when he obtained a patent from the king authorizing him to acquire "certain plots of land containing 47 perches and 4 feet in length, and 23 perches and 12 feet in width, adjacent to his palace within the city of Norwich, for the enlargement thereof." On this site the bishop raised a magnificent hall, 120 feet long and 60 feet wide, with kitchen and butteries connected. Only one relic of this building remains above ground, the beautiful two-storied porch which stands in the palace garden and was long known as Bishop

Salmon's Gateway. Within this ruin is the doorway of the hall, a fine Early Decorated work with bold vaultings overhead and sharp-pointed arches. In the room over the porch, —the bishop's muniment room in the eighteenth century— which is reached by a staircase from the great hall, there is an old door with beautiful iron work. Some foundations of the hall itself, excavated under Mr. Harrod's directions about fifty years ago, showed that lines of clustered pillars ran within it parallel to its east and west walls and forming two aisles on either side of the main part of the building. There was a doorway in the west wall opposite the porch, and three were found in the north wall. By the central and largest of these a passage into the kitchen was reached. The other two led into the pantry and buttery. The discovery at the same time of the foundation of a staircase connecting the private apartments with the south-west end of the hall points to the conclusion that the "great chamber" of the palace at this period was on the same site as the dining-room, which is wholly modern, but rests on a vaulted substructure of the fourteenth century. Bishop Salmon must have made considerable alterations in this wing. The buildings themselves are mainly ascribed to him, besides the substructure, where the vaulting and piers, as in the part of the palace immediately adjoining the cathedral, date from his time. Besides erecting his great hall and reconstructing and probably enlarging the early palace, Salmon busied himself with the chapel. He pulled down Herbert de Losinga's building—"the old chapel" mentioned in episcopal records of 1277 and 1294—and raised another on its site, replacing the Norman apse by a square end. Here his successor, William Ayermin, a man of a very different stamp, faithless and avaricious, established a chantry of three priests, for each of whom he provided a yearly

stipend of six marks. All were to be appointed by the bishop; to have apartments in the palace, with meat, drink, and lodging at his cost, and to pray daily for the souls of their founder and his family. More than a century later Bishop Walter Lyhert abolished this chantry, finding, possibly, the maintenance of three chaplains in his palace somewhat irksome. It is recorded of William Ayermin also that he obtained licence to enclose his palace and manor-houses with stone walls and keep them fortified. One of his successors, the warlike Henry Despenser, had no need of any such artificial defence against his enemies. Capgrave, the Lynn monk, who was born some thirteen years before Despenser's death, and included him amongst his twenty-four illustrious Henries, described him as "a soldier valorous in all things, and who in the vigour of youth seemed to thirst after warfare only." The see of Norwich was bestowed on him by the Pope in reward for his success in warring against the enemies of the Church, and his eulogist goes on to record that "for many years he ruled his people in peace, and obtained the affections of all beneath his sway." When the peasants' rebellion spread to Norfolk, Despenser hastened against the insurgents with a small following, and after defeating a detachment of them at Newmarket made his way to Norwich. There, where John the Litester, ringleader of the rebels in that part, had preceded him and "committed many horrid deeds, especially in the destruction of houses and places in which certain nobles lived who were friends of the law or of the king," he was welcomed with universal joy. Many of the nobles and gentry of the county had joined him on the way to the city and left it with him in pursuit of the insurgents, who had fled at his approach. At North Walsham they were overtaken and utterly routed, and their

leader was captured and hanged, the bishop himself, after confessing and absolving him, attending him at the gallows.

Four and a half centuries later the road down which a Bishop of Norwich had marched forth from the precincts of the palace to cross the river at the head of 6,000 men-at-arms was pointed out to Dean Stanley. According to the current tradition the bishop was William Turbe, but the legend is more in keeping with the character of Despenser. If it does belong to him, however, it is probably connected with a later event in his career. The courage and somewhat ruthless determination which he had displayed in crushing the rebellion of 1381, and which provoked a conspiracy against his life in the following year, coupled with the military renown of his younger days, were perhaps the cause of the Pope's choice of him to lead a crusade against the supporters of his rival, the Anti-Pope Clement VII. Money was collected all over the kingdom for this enterprise, and Despenser undertook to enter France at the head of 3,000 men-at-arms and 3,000 archers. Through no fault of his own the expedition ended disastrously, and the bishop returned to be called to account in Parliament for its failure. A fighting man from beginning to end of his long career, and constantly at variance with his contemporaries, contending now against the regular clergy of his diocese, among whom his own monks of Norwich were foremost in opposition to him, now against "good old Sir Thomas Erpingham," whose Lollard proclivities he detested; he was a staunch supporter of Richard II. in his fall, and suffered imprisonment from Henry IV. in consequence. One chronicler, who extols his zeal in attacking Lollardy, records his oath that "if any of that perverse sect should presume to preach in his diocese he should be given to the flames or lose his head." William Sawtre, the

first martyr who suffered at Smithfield under the persecuting statute of 1401, was actually examined by Despenser at his Suffolk manor of South Elmham, and may very probably have been imprisoned in the dungeon of the bishop's palace at Norwich in the spring or early summer of 1399. Some later heretics were confined in this bishop's prison, which tradition identifies with a cellar off the kitchen, described by a recent writer as unlighted, unventilated, and undrained; its roof, a rudely constructed stone vault, springing from a central column, where the staples to which the prisoners' chains were attached are still visible. No record seems to survive of its use under Henry Despenser's successor, Alexander of Totington, the Prior of Norwich, with whom the soldier-bishop had been engaged in a long contest. One act of Alexander's brief episcopate was the repairing of the palace, which for a considerable period after his death was occupied only by suffragans. This was the case under John Wakering, who was bishop nearly two years before he came into his diocese to hold an ordination at Norwich. He had for long been chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and master of the rolls, and in the year of his consecration to the see went as ambassador to the Council of Constance. A non-resident bishop he is remembered, nevertheless, in the history of Norwich Palace for the beautiful cloister which he built from it to the church door. This, of which no vestige has survived, ran east of the palace, extending from the south end of Bishop Salmon's great hall to the cathedral. It was paved with tiles of various colours laid chequerwise, and covered with a handsome roof of stonework. In the last year of his life Wakering became a bitter persecutor of Lollardy. A large number of Norfolk heretics were brought before him; but the first to suffer at Norwich was one

William White, who was condemned at a synod held in the chapel of the palace more than three years after Wakering's death, and burnt at the stake in the "Lollards' Pit" on the eastern outskirts of the city.

The career of the able and statesmanlike William of Alnwick, under whom White suffered, resembled that of his predecessor in several respects, but especially in his relentless persecution of Lollardy. Pleasanter associations with his episcopate, however, are not wanting. He was a great architect, and before his translation to Lincoln in 1436, besides completing the cloisters of Norwich Cathedral, he had erected the great portal of its west front and a gateway to the episcopal palace. Both were afterwards finished by one of his immediate successors, Walter Lyhert, the cathedral porch being paid for by a sum of money which Bishop Alnwick had left for that purpose. His gate-house, still the main entrance to the episcopal precincts, stands upon St. Martin's Plain, opposite the church of St. Martin-at-Palace. It is a lofty two-storied structure with two arched entrances: the larger for carriages, the smaller, on its western side, for foot-passengers. Both, which open beneath the same groined vaulting, are flanked by squared flat buttresses composed of stone quoins and flints. Cotman's etching of the palace gateway, which was first published at Norwich between the years 1812 and 1818, shows that one of the buttresses was crowned by a seated figure on a pinnacle. In 1847, when the antiquary, John Britton, described the gate-houses of Norwich to the Archæological Institute, this was still there, but the sculptured figures which now surmount the buttresses, their pedestals, and the whole of the parapet between them, are modern. The archways, the larger of which has its spandrels adorned with rich tracery mouldings

enclosing blank shields, and the elaborate frieze of panelled compartments above them, surmounted by a canopied niche, probably belong to the original design, though the crowned and seated figure under the canopy may be of later date. It is likely that the gate-house buildings extended to a considerable distance both east and west. In the sixteenth century they included stables, hay-house, slaughter-house, the dwelling-house of the keeper of the palace, and porter's lodge with lodging over it, besides chambers in the two towers of the gateway itself; but all have suffered from injudicious restoration, as well as from neglect, and it is now difficult to determine their former dimensions. The massive oak doors were the work of Lyhert, and bear, as do many parts of the cathedral, his rebus, a hart lying in water.

By his contemporary, Gascoigne, Lyhert was described as of Cornwall. The anniversary of one John Lyhert, however, was kept by the monks of Norwich Priory in the early part of the fifteenth century—a fact which lends some countenance to the theory that the bishop was of Norfolk ancestry. A Fellow and Provost of Oriel, he was a leading man at Oxford, but had held no preferment of very great importance before the end of 1445 when he was promoted to the see of Norwich, through the influence of his patron the Duke of Suffolk. The king had intended the vacancy for the Provost of Eton, when his minister anticipated him, but Lyhert's appointment did not meet with any serious opposition, and not long afterwards he became confessor to the young queen, Margaret of Anjou. Though Gascoigne writes of him as resident at Court on account of this office, there are not wanting indications that he was a good deal occupied with the affairs of his diocese. Under his immediate predecessor,

Bishop Browne, the old feud between monks and citizens had broken out again—there had been open riots, and the mayor had laid siege to the priory at the head of the commons. Heavy penalties fell on the city in consequence, but through Lyhert's good offices its liberties were restored in 1447. Both within and without his diocese he played the part of a peacemaker. The "Paston Letters" show how the Norfolk people looked to him to do justice in an age of violence and lawlessness, and his mission to Savoy, as mediator between two rival popes, is said to have brought about the resignation of one of them.

The year of this embassy was marked by a very rare event in the annals of the episcopal palace. On Saturday, August 29, 1449, Henry VI. came to Norwich and stayed here until the following Monday night "at the sole expense," we are told, "of the bishop, the prior, the mayor, and commons." Since the cost of the king's entertainment was shared by the monastery and corporation it is likely that he brought a large train with him, and the queen herself may have accompanied him on this visit to her confessor. Lyhert's alterations in the palace are believed to have been made for this occasion. The present drawing-room, modernized though it is, is a Perpendicular building, and has a handsome timber roof above its plaster ceiling. In the frieze of panelled compartments over the oaken doors of the gateway, which are undoubtedly Lyhert's work, the letter M, crowned, alternates with blank shields. Is it fanciful to suppose that the frieze had been left unfinished by Bishop Alnwick and that this decoration was designed by Lyhert in compliment to the queen? Three and a half years later Margaret was certainly in Norwich, being then entertained by the city. She had come into Norfolk to

win what friends she could against the growing Yorkist faction, and John Paston's wife wrote him a shrewd description of how she "made right much" of one of the ladies she summoned to her presence.

From the breaking out of the Wars of the Roses until his death in 1472, Lyhert was much in his diocese, and his popularity there was undoubtedly great. James Gloys, a dependent of the Pastons, wrote to his master that "my lord of Norwich hath so flatered the lay pepill as he hath redyn a bought his visitacion that he hath thers herts." Like many of his predecessors, however, he seems to have often resided at Gaywood, Hoxne, or some other house belonging to his see. Bishop Salmon's improvements had made the palace too large for his successors. Their suffragans lived in it for the greater part of the fifteenth century, and the office of keeper of the palace, to which some references occur at a later date, may possibly have already been long in existence as a necessary provision to preserve it from decay during the periods in which it was unoccupied.

The annual feast of the gild of St. George was first held at the palace during the episcopate of Bishop Goldwell, Lyhert's successor. This association had been formed in 1385 as a religious fraternity, the brothers and sisters of which bound themselves to hear Mass and evensong and offer "a candel brennand" and a halfpenny in the cathedral on St. George's Day; to sing a requiem for all Christian souls on the day following the festival; to attend the dirges and Masses sung on the death of a brother or sister, and make a weekly payment for the support of such members as had fallen into poverty. After the grant of a charter in 1417 the community increased in importance and became a

powerful factor in the municipal life of Norwich. Even before Henry V. ratified and confirmed it to be a gild for ever some secular observances had been added to the religious ceremonies of the festival. The day seems to have begun by the assembling of the brethren on horseback to ride without the city to the wood where the little St. William had been murdered. There were, too, processions through the city and a conflict between the George and the Dragon, and when the Mass in the cathedral was over all the brothers and sisters met for the feast, towards which each had contributed for "mete, wax, and minestral x^{d}," at the place assigned by their alderman. The assembly books of the gild show that it was proposed in 1473 that this place should be the palace if it might be obtained for the purpose; and that the festival was certainly held there from 1495 to 1498. In the absence of evidence to the contrary it seems likely enough that Bishop Salmon's great hall, even then, possibly, showing signs of the decay to which the neglect of later generations consigned it, was the usual scene of the banquet during the last quarter of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. Many of the leading men of Norfolk were enrolled amongst the members of the gild of St. George. Lyhert himself belonged to it, as too, did Sir John Fastolf; and for a brief season every year the old building must have been waked into life by the joyous company in their gay liveries of scarlet and "sanguin," that thronged its deserted aisles and ate together under its roof. The accounts of 1530 record the payment of 26*s.* 8*d.* for grey canvas to line the cloth belonging to the cathedral church, which was always lent when the feast was held in the bishop's palace, and in the following years there were charges for cupboards, stulps, and various repairs. In 1536 a sum of 10*s.* was paid for divers expenses

and writings for the lease of "Palacehall" to Master Steward. This evidently refers to the lease by which Bishop Nix granted his great hall, with buttery, pantry, kitchen and other offices at its north end, to the gild that they might hold their annual festival there, for six days before and six days after St. George's Day, with the proviso that should the king, queen, bishop, or any other lord or person of dignity keep house in the palace at that time, the feast was not to be celebrated there without the bishop's licence. In 1548, however, the gild, now formed into St. George's Company, decreed that after attending divine service in the cathedral its members should proceed to the common hall, "there to take such repast as the feastmakers shall provide." This common hall was the church of the dissolved house of the Black Friars, where the annual feasts of the corporation and their gilds were henceforth held, and Bishop Salmon's great hall fell once more into disuse. It was partly pulled down between 1550 and 1554 by Thirlby, one of Mary's bishops, and the commissioners who surveyed the palace forty years later reported that "the walles yet stand ruinous," and that no attempt had been made to restore them.

Bishop Nix's lease was perhaps made in consequence of the very heavy sentence passed on him in the previous year, when he had been brought to trial on the charge—probably only used as a pretext for royal extortion—of infringing the customs of Thetford by citing its mayor to appear before him, and had been condemned to pay £10,000. He was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, where, being totally blind and upwards of ninety, he can hardly have kept the "good heart" of which Gardiner, when he was ambassador to Rome on the matter of the divorce some years before, had

told the Pope, relating "a merry tale" how the octogenarian Bishop of Norwich "wolde have a chamber devised nere the grounde without any stayres, to lie in twentie yeres hens when he knew well he shulde be somewhat feble." It is hardly safe to assume that this chamber belonged to the palace, for Nix seems to have resided a good deal at Hoxne, but one room at least within its precincts must have seldom lacked an inmate. The bishop, whose consistent and disinterested opposition to every form of innovation brought him no favour in high places, was a ruthless persecutor, and as the reformed doctrines were spreading rapidly in the diocese, his dungeon cannot often have been empty. One reformer whom he arrested for an eloquent sermon against superstition, Nicholas Shaxton, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, is said to have been succeeded in the palace prison by Latimer's "Saint Bilney," who suffered at the stake in the Lollards' Pit for holding doctrines so similar to those which Shaxton had preached that Nix is said to have exclaimed after his death: "Christ's mother! I fear I have burnt Abel and let Cain go."

Persecution was still rife under Nix's successor, William Rugge or Reppes. He was head of the ancient abbey of St. Benet's, Hulme, and before his consecration the estates of his house with those of Hickling Priory were transferred to the see of Norwich, stripped, by the same Act of Parliament, of all its ancient possessions with the solitary exception of "the palyce called the Bisshoppes Palyce" and such appurtenances in the priory as the bishops had always enjoyed. With resources thus impoverished it is small wonder that Bishop Rugge fell into financial difficulties, and was at last obliged to resign. The Norfolk historian, Blomefield, preserves some lines which are said to have

been composed by an old officer of the bishopric on this occasion:—

"POOR WILL, THOU rugged art and ragged ALL,
Thy *abbey* cannot bless thee in such fame
To keep a *pallace* fair and stately *hall*
When gone is thence that should maintain the same,
First pay thy debts, and hence return to *cell*,
And pray the blessed Saint whom thou dost serve
That others may maintaine the *pallace* well,
For if Thou stay'st we all are like to starve."

In 1548 Rugge had obtained a royal licence to alienate the palace to Sir Francis Bryan, but the bargain was never completed. It seems to have been after its failure that he carried away the carved oak panelling from the abbot's chamber at St. Benet's and used it for the wainscoting of the walls of the room which adjoins the modern drawing-room on the south. Here are still to be seen the arms of the abbey, of Sir John Fastolf, and of some well-known Norfolk families, besides the portraits of various famous characters of history and legend —Joshua, Deborah, Caesar, Charlemagne, Ulysses, Penelope, and others—with their names carved and attached to them.

A few months before Bishop Rugge laid down his staff a desperate battle was fought on St. Martin's Plain, just outside Bishop Alnwick's Gateway, in which the Norfolk insurgents under Kett utterly routed the Marquis of Northampton and his Italian mercenaries. Some days before the rebels had fought their way into the city over Bishop's Bridge, which is said to have been connected with the palace as early as 1249. They were accused by contemporary writers of having set fire to the city gate on the bridge, called Bishop's Gate, besides many houses in "Holmstrete," the present Bishopbridge Street; but no attack on either cathedral or palace is recorded against them.

With the first of Elizabeth's bishops came a change in the history of the episcopal palace. John Parkhurst, who filled the see from 1560 to 1575, made it his home for a considerable part of that time, and spent largely on its repairs. A friend of the martyrologist Foxe, who visited him at Norwich shortly after his consecration, he had fled to Switzerland on Queen Mary's accession, and formed friendships with the Continental reformers which lasted to the end of his life. Norwich was supposed to have been leavened with popery by Bishop Hopton, the late queen's confessor, and Parkhurst, whose diocesan rule was generally characterized by a masterly inactivity, showed some zeal in proceeding against suspected Papists. One of them, however, a Mr. Cotton, who feigned or made convenient use of a tertian ague, he allowed to escape him, and the archbishop wrote in vain pressing for his arrest. But it was his dealings with the Puritans that generally incurred Parker's censures. "He winketh at schismatics and anabaptists," Sir William Cecil wrote of him in 1561, and his sympathies were always with "the fantastical folk" who supported prophesyings and demanded loaf-bread for the Communion. The bishop's affection for foreign Protestants led to one somewhat strange proceeding. About the time of his elevation to the see the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich had waited on the Duke of Norfolk with a petition that he would encourage some of the refugees from the Low Countries to settle amongst them, and so restore their decaying worsted manufacture. Four years later when a royal patent was granted authorizing the establishment of some thirty master-workmen and their households—not exceeding in all three hundred Dutch and Walloons—in the city, there was already a considerable number of these strangers in residence, and in 1565 the duke wrote to the archbishop

asking him to sanction the grant of a vacant church for their use. He had already obtained Parkhurst's consent, and the matter was settled for the Walloon congregation by a lease of the chapel of the bishop's palace. Here for more than seventy years the strangers worshipped, not always fulfilling their duty of keeping the building in repair, and, in the latter part of their occupation, sometimes deserting it for the more attractive services of the parish churches in the city.

In the palace itself Parkhurst kept up a lavish hospitality until, in the last three years of his life, he fell on evil days. He had entrusted the collection of the tenths of his diocese to a dishonest receiver, who appropriated them to his own uses. In 1572 the bishop was summoned to pay the arrears of two years into the royal exchequer, and discovered the fraud which had been practised on him. The offender was imprisoned, but it does not appear that Parkhurst ever recovered the missing tenths. He was obliged to leave Norwich and live in comparative retirement at Ludham, whence he wrote that he "was forced to live in miserable sort, neither able to maintain a family fit for his place, neither to build nor repair his houses, nor bestow his liberality where he would, neither to keep hospitality or relieve the poor."

One result of Parkhurst's straitened circumstances—he had to pay £400 a year into the royal exchequer to make up the deficiency—was that his successor, Edmund Freake, found most of the houses of the see falling into decay. An allowance for dilapidations was granted him out of the estate of his predecessor, some of whose charitable legacies and bequests were in consequence revoked by the executors. The matter was brought before the Privy Council, and Freake, who had repaired both the palace and the house at

Ludham, was urged to surrender the compensation which was his legal due. He showed considerable reluctance to yield, and the lords' letter was followed by a second in which they hinted plainly how greatly their good opinion of him would be enhanced by his compliance. The bishop's hesitation was probably not prompted by avarice. Not long afterwards he showed some disinterestedness in steadily refusing promotion to the wealthier see of Ely, because he was loath in his old age to incur the infamy of furthering an iniquitous scheme of Elizabeth and her ministers to appropriate some of its revenues. On that one occasion he seems to have followed his own judgment, but in matters that lay nearer home he can seldom have been a free agent.

If a full chronicle of life in the palace during Bishop Freake's episcopate existed it would probably be largely made up of the sayings and doings of the lady, who was generally described there as "Mrs. Busshopp." It was well known in that household that when Mrs. Freake wanted anything done "my lord" must straightway do it, "will he nil he." The poor old man complained with tears to his servants that if he did not do as his wife willed "she wolde make him weary of his liffe"; and one of them related that if any visitor came to the palace without a present she would "looke on him as the devill lookes over Lyncolne."

Under the lax rule of Parkhurst the numerous sectaries of Norwich had enjoyed comparative immunity, and though their prejudices were now and again shocked by his broad and tolerant teaching he was not unpopular. Freake, on the contrary, did his utmost to restore discipline in the disorderly diocese, and had not been there much more than a year when certain preachers of the city petitioned Parliament against the ceremonies on which he insisted. He

found his clergy refractory and insubordinate, and was involved besides in a serious dispute with his chancellor. Here again Mrs. Freake was active, and the good people of Norwich maintained that the bishop deposed Dr. Becon at her instigation. She wished, they said, to turn every honest man out of his presence. There was but one religious person, in their sense of the word, in the palace—a certain Mr. Chamberlayne, his steward; and Mrs. Freake left her husband no peace till he had been "thrust out of doors." She was one of several people against whom formal depositions were made for abetting the bishop in showing favour to the Papists. It was a time of great severity against the recusants, and Freake was certainly very gentle in his dealings with them. A characteristic letter of his to one has been preserved: "Having of late receaved verie sharpe reprehension from my Lordes of the Counsaill for my lenitie extended towardes you and the reste in question for religion in theese partes, upon some complaint made against me for that your libertie, I am hereupon urged to call you and the reste to prison, requiringe you therefore not to faile in your repaire to James Bradshawes in Norwich, within tenne daies next after the receipt hereof, there remayninge as before. And so I bid you well to faire in Christe. Ludham, this 13th of March, 1581. Your lovinge friende, Edmund Norwich." This was written before an event which must have stirred all Norwich to excitement, and been the occasion of no little righteous triumph amongst the godly folk who had described their bishop and his wife a few years before as "linked" to "the whole rabble of the Papists." Two of the bishop's family were found attending Mass in Norwich, and he wrote in consternation to the lord treasurer to explain the untoward circumstance. Both persons—one his butler, the

other a lawyer, whom he described as "a man of small reckoning"—had been constant in attendance at the public service and sermons in his own house, and he had been deceived by their apparent conformity. What with his household, which must have always been somewhat unruly, if there was any foundation for the charge brought against Sir Thomas Cornwallis in 1578 of sharing the drunken banquetings of the bishop's servants, and his turbulent diocese, where his officers were constantly opposed in their visitations, it is small wonder that even before this catastrophe Freake had begged to be removed to a quieter sphere. "No comfort (God knowythe)," he wrote, "have I here, but continuall crossing and overthwarting to my grat grefe and unquietnes, nether looke I for any better." He was translated to Worcester, and there ended his days in comparative peace.

It does not appear that Freake played a prominent part in the great doings which celebrated Queen Elizabeth's visit to Norwich in 1578. As one of her chaplains, however, and her host—for she stayed six days at the palace—he must have enjoyed some share of royal favour, and seems to have taken advantage of it to complain of certain Norfolk and Suffolk gentry who encouraged the sectaries against him. His influence was of very short duration. The queen's progress through the eastern counties was hardly over when Sir Thomas Heneage wrote to Walsingham that by some good means Her Majesty had been brought to think well of the zealous and loyal gentlemen against whom the foolish bishop had tried to prejudice her. As he described at the same time how the lords of the council had "straightened" certain obstinate persons who refused to come to church, it is clear that the queen also disapproved of the bishop's

leniency towards the recusants. It would be interesting to know how Mrs. Freake fared during the royal visit. Elizabeth, as is well known, could hardly bring herself to tolerate her bishops' wives, and one who usurped her husband's authority in the diocese must have been especially obnoxious to her.

Whatever may have happened within the palace there is no doubt that without it this August week was a season of unmixed rejoicings and festivities which were long remembered in the city. A century later Sir Thomas Browne, commenting on the great equipages which the luxurious habits of his contemporaries required, described to his son how in the summertime of 1578 Elizabeth came on horseback by the high road from Ipswich to Norwich with but a coach or two in her train and rode through the city to the bishop's palace, where she stayed a week, sometimes going a-hunting on horseback and often up to Mousehold Hill to see wrestling and shooting. Sir Thomas had heard many things about the queen's visit from an aged patient of his who had been in attendance on the Earl of Leicester at the time; but the memory of the pageants and shows arranged in her honour has not been left to oral tradition alone. One who, besides being a spectator, took some part in their preparation, and judged it better to record Elizabeth's reception than "let it perish in three halfpenie pamphlets and so die in oblivion," wrote a detailed description of the triumph and feasting, telling how "a shew of some strange devise" was planned for each day, and none of the queen's train left unfeasted. She was met outside the city by the mayor and aldermen and a company of the most comely young men of Norwich in rich apparel, who attended her to St. Stephen's Gate. Here there were brilliant decorations of the red and white rose and the royal arms, and the city waits greeted

her with music. Two pageants were displayed before the queen reached the cathedral, whence she withdrew, after service, to the bishop's palace. It was a Saturday, and Elizabeth seems to have spent most of the Sunday in retirement. Meantime, the organizer of the city festivities was busy arranging pastimes for her delectation. On Monday, however, she was kept indoors by bad weather, and it was not till the late afternoon that a new device was sent before supper to the palace as though Mercury had come from the gods to request Her Majesty to go abroad and behold what was planned for her welcome. He drove in a wonderful coach, covered with birds and spirits hanging from the clouds, and with a high tower in its centre adorned with gold and gay jewels and a fair plume of white feathers on the top. His own dress was of blue satin, lined with cloth of gold, and slashed in the most approved fashion, and his high-peaked hat, blue also, bore a pair of wings. There were wings, too, on his heels and on his golden rod, round which two serpents writhed as if they were alive. When the equipage set forth, which it did so swiftly that the horses seemed to fly, the people followed it in such crowds that the Green Yard outside the palace was filled to overflowing. "And when the coche approached in the hearing of a trumpet the trumpetter sounded, and so came in to the greene sounding, until the coche was full placed before a window at which the queene stood and might be plainelie seene and openlie viewed. When Mercurie had espied hir highnesse, he skipped out of the coch, and, being on the ground, gave a jump or two and advanced himself in such a sort that the queene smiled at the boldnesse of the boie. Thus Mercurie, beholding the queene, with great courage and audacitie at the length bowed downe his head and immediatlie stood

bolt upright and shaked his rod, and so began his speech with a most assured countenance." He was both well heard and well received by the queen as she stood at one of the windows of the "great chamber," which is now the drawing-room, and the chronicler adds, in evident self-gratulation to himself and his fellow-players, that though no pageant was looked for at that hour, "yet hap was so good and the gratious favour of the prince that all was well taken." After that wet Monday Elizabeth spent but a small part of her time in the palace. There were other pageants for her entertainment, one representing Venus and Cupid thrust from heaven, another with a cave and twelve water-nymphs, a third the show of Manhood and Desert, besides presentations, orations, decorations, and a masque of gods and goddesses, who brought her gifts after supper one day. Altogether, she was so contented with her reception that when she rode away at seven o'clock on the Friday evening—the hour being so late for the five-mile journey before her that the mayor had to forego his speech and present it to her in writing—she declared, "I have laid up in my heart such good will as I shall never forget Norwich," and thereupon proceeding forward did shake her riding rod and said, "Farewell, Norwich," with the water standing in her eyes.

Freake's successor, Bishop Scambler, who had earned the reputation of a shameless spoiler in his first see of Peterborough, was hardly more scrupulous in his dealings with the Norwich revenues. Apparently, however—to judge from a survey made in October, 1594, a few months after his death—he left the palace in a better state of repair than some of his predecessors had done. The report then made to the queen's auditor by carpenters, masons, glaziers, and other workmen who had been employed in the house names each

room in order, beginning with those which adjoined the cathedral. It is interesting to compare this presumably exhaustive survey with the record of a dilapidation suit brought forty years later by Bishop White, then already translated to Ely, against the representative of one of his predecessors, Samuel Harsnet. In the later document only those parts of the palace are mentioned for the repairs of which compensation was claimed. The Elizabethan survey begins with the middle chamber next the church, probably the little chamber next the pulpit of Bishop White's suit, and a higher chamber over it. The title of the principal room in the next group, "the Lord Cromwell's chamber so called of late," seems to be the sole surviving record of some awe-inspiring visit of Henry VIII.'s great minister to the bishop's palace between his elevation to the baronage in the July of 1536 and his downfall four years later. In connexion with this visit, if such there were—for history and tradition are alike silent on the point—it is noteworthy that in 1594 no room bore the name of the great queen who had stayed in the palace only sixteen years before, although two and a half centuries later "the state-room" was known to Bishop Stanley's family as the apartment in which Elizabeth had slept. The Lord Cromwell's chamber lay between a withdrawing-room and another chamber, and is followed in the category by a green parlour, which reappears in the next century as the green chamber. Amongst other rooms mentioned in both documents are the great chamber where Elizabeth had received Mercury's address from the Green Yard, the hall, and the study. To this hall—certainly not Bishop Salmon's great hall, which the Elizabethan survey describes as already in ruins—there were entries from the green parlour and the great chamber. The chamber adjoining

the great chamber is probably the room which Bishop Rugge had decorated with the panelling from St. Benet's. Near this was the bishop's chamber and withdrawing-room. The dilapidation suit was not concerned with these three apartments, nor with the armoury which, whatever its condition in 1594, was sparsely enough furnished fifty years later, when Bishop Hall owned but two muskets for the defence of his house. On the other hand, the wardrobe and nursery of 1634 have no place in the Elizabethan survey, though, as there seems to be no record of fresh building during the interval, it is likely enough that they were only old rooms bearing new names. At both dates the palace must have had its complement of kitchen offices, pantry, butteries, wine-cellars, and so on, though these are only enumerated in full in the survey. From this, too, comes the information that there were four chambers in the galleries for the serving-men, a "chapel chamber" on the backside of the chapel, and two others upstairs next the chapel; that the steward had his own set of apartments, a study amongst them; and that the outbuildings comprised brewery, granary, bake-house, mill, coal, fagot, and plumber's houses, besides those already mentioned in connexion with Bishop Alnwick's Gateway.

The depositions of Harsnet's servants and certain workmen employed about the palace show that the bishop had from time to time spent a considerable amount of money on its repairs. He, too, had sued his predecessor's executors for dilapidations, and at the end of four years, when his costs had amounted to £300, was awarded £200. To an uninitiated reader the claims of the Bishop of Ely do not appear altogether reasonable. They were chiefly for glass—this, in some cases, for windows not hitherto glazed—and leads, including those of the chapel or French Church, for which

the bishop had not been responsible. From another source we learn that Harsnet had granted the keeper's house to one Thomas Fitton with a fee of fourpence a day for keeping the palace, and a charge was made for the repair of the walls about the gardens and of "the house by Mr. Fitton's." Something had also been expended on the leads of the walk going to the church, so that Wakering's Cloister must have been still in use.

Bishop Harsnet, who "kepte residence and hospitalitie" in the palace "all the time it was fitt for his place and degree," was an earnest and devout prelate, but too moderate to satisfy either party in the Church. With the Puritans of Norwich he was in great disfavour for putting down some of the lectureships so popular at that time in his diocese, and for which there was a special endowment in the city, and they brought formal accusations against him in Parliament both on this account and for his insistence on ceremonial observances. He seems to have suppressed only such lectures as interfered with attendance at church services, but as Fuller describes him as a "zealous asserter of ceremonies," adding that he was the first to complain of "conformable Puritans," it is not surprising that his efforts to enforce ritual made him unpopular at Norwich.

It was during the episcopate of Bishop White's successor, Richard Corbet, that Laud determined to put an end to the occupation of the palace chapel by the Walloons. The bishop accordingly wrote to the ministers: "You have promised me from time to time to restore my stolen bell and to glaze my lettice windows. After three yeeres consultation (bysides other pollution) I see nothing mended. Your discipline, I know, care not much for a consecrated place, and anye other roome in Norwiche that hath but

bredth and length may serve your turn as well as the chappel: wherefore I say unto you without a miracle *Lazare prodi foras.* Depart and hire some other place for your irregular meetings: you shall have time to provide for yourselves betwixte this and Whitsontide. And that you may not think I mean to deale with you as Felix dyd with St. Paul, that is, make you afraid, to get money, I shall keepe my word with you, which you did not with me, and as neer as I can be like you in nothinge. Written by me, Richard Norwich. December 26, 1634." On the receipt of this whimsical letter the Walloons appealed to the archbishop, but did not succeed in shaking his resolution. They were using the chapel, however, when Corbet died six months later, and the next bishop, Matthew Wren, found them still in possession, Laud testifying for him in 1636 that he had spent the summer of that year at Ipswich partly because his presence was required in that part of his diocese, but also because the chapel at his house in Norwich was held by the French congregation, who had received warning to quit by the following Easter. In 1637 they took their departure, paying, it is said, only twenty nobles, though the bishop had claimed £150 or £200 for dilapidations.

Like Bishop Harsnet, Corbet had not shown himself disposed to countenance the lectureships. He seems to have been in sympathy with Laud's endeavours to enforce stricter discipline, especially in the matter of residence. At Norwich, where he spent only three years, dying whilst still in middle life, he was long remembered for his eloquent preaching and exuberant wit. Even in that brief time the jolly doctor, who had sung ballads at Abingdon Cross one market day to help an unsuccessful vendor, drawing together a great audience by the charm of his handsome person and rare full voice,

must have said and done many things delightful to hear and tell of, but neither in Aubrey's "Brief Lives" nor in a longer memoir is any incident recorded which can be assigned with certainty to this period of his life. If, however, he brought with him from Oxford his favourite chaplain—which seems probable, since his last words on his death-bed in Norwich were, "Good night, Lushington,"—one of the palace wine-cellars may have been the scene of some merry-makings with this kindred spirit. A man of a generous and benevolent nature, courteous, sincere, and affectionate, Corbet—even according to Aubrey, who chronicles some frolicsome jests bordering on buffoonery—was not without dignity as a prelate. Among his contemporaries he was best known as the friend of Ben Jonson, as himself a poet of no inconsiderable merit and an incomparable wit and good fellow.

His successor, Wren, according to Clarendon, "a man of a severe, sour nature, but very learned," was impeached before the Long Parliament and imprisoned for nearly eighteen years in the Tower without trial. Though he had been translated to Ely in 1638, when he had been Bishop of Norwich less than three years, most of the charges brought against him were concerned with the earlier episcopate. He was said to have suppressed the preaching of the Word of God, and introduced many superstitious and idolatrous practices into the city, besides forcing the inhabitants to pay two shillings in the pound of their rents in tithes. There was probably more foundation for the accusation that he had driven 3,000 of the king's subjects into Holland by his rigorous prosecution, for we have it on Clarendon's authority that many of the Huguenots in his diocese left the kingdom on account of the harsh treatment they experienced at his hands.

Before Wren came to Norwich some attempt had been made to increase the attendance at the cathedral sermon. This was preached every Sunday morning, during the winter months in the cathedral itself, but from Easter to Michaelmas in the Green Yard west of the palace, which now forms part of its gardens. Here through a doorway, long since closed, in the north aisle of the nave, the congregation adjourned after prayers to listen to the preacher selected by their bishop. Galleries were erected along the walls of the palace and north aisle of the cathedral for the mayor and aldermen, with their families and officers, the dean, prebendaries, and other persons of rank, whilst the rest of the audience stood or sat on forms, paying a halfpenny or penny for the hire of their seats. The pulpit described by Dean Hassall in 1631, when it had been lately rebuilt, and he was proposing to decorate it with the arms of the king and some of his nobility, as very like St. Paul's Cross, had a capacious covering of lead with a cross upon it. Probably its restoration and embellishment were part of a scheme to exalt these orthodox sermons against the lectures in which the people of Norwich took such delight. Four years later a royal letter addressed to the mayor and corporation commanded their constant attendance in the cathedral or Green Yard every Sunday morning, none being allowed to absent himself without the bishop's permission. The city magnates complied with the king's mandate, and shortly afterwards refused a petition for new lectures and evening readings presented by their fellow-citizens. Not many years later, however, some at least of them seem to have assisted at the sacrilegious spoliation of the cathedral by the Parliamentarians. The leaden cross was then sawn down from the Green Yard pulpit and burnt, with service-books, vestments, and organ-pipes, in the

market-place, the pulpit itself being afterwards removed to the New Hall Yard.

Wren was not the only Bishop of Norwich who suffered for conscience' sake in the seventeenth century. The scholar and antiquary, Richard Montague, who came after him, had already been the object of the relentless attacks of the Parliaments of Charles I., and might have shared the same fate had he not escaped his accusers by a timely death, going, as Fuller said, "a more compendious way to answer all in the high court of heaven." Their rigid discipline and enforcement of ritual had earned for the Laudian bishops the hatred of the Puritans in many parts of the country, but when the Parliament triumphed, in Norwich, at least, the brunt of the storm was borne by one who had done little or nothing to provoke it. In his first diocese of Exeter, Joseph Hall had more than once found it difficult to clear himself from the suspicion of showing undue favour to the disaffected, and his wide tolerance and large-hearted charity met with little sympathy from the extremists on both sides. Moderate men, however, such as the Earl of Essex, who had a great reverence and kindness for him, seem to have loved him as much for these qualities as they respected his holy and consistent life, and admired his genius as writer, controversialist, and preacher.

The events which followed Bishop Hall's election to the see of Norwich are well known from his own account. He was one of the twelve prelates charged with high treason for protesting against the validity of Acts passed during their enforced absence from the House of Lords. They were committed to the Tower and imprisoned there for some months. In the meantime a Bill was passed for the forfeiture of their spiritual and temporal estates, out of which an annual

allowance—in Hall's case £400—was to be made to each. On his release the bishop went down to Norwich, where he was received with more cordiality than he had expected. He took up his abode in the palace, and preached the next day to a large and attentive congregation. The story of his subsequent experiences there, written in his own vigorous and simple language, has been often quoted. Notwithstanding some murmuring among the disaffected, he enjoyed comparative peace until the ordinance of sequestration was passed about eleven months after his arrival. The first hint of the troubles that were impending seems to have reached the bishop through a London trooper who came with others in his company to the palace gates very early one morning, and threatened to break them down if he were denied entrance. Dr. Hall found him struggling with one of his servants for a pistol, and "demanded his business at that unseasonable time. He told me he came to search for arms and ammunition of which I must be disarmed. I told him I had only two muskets in the house and no other military provision. He, not resting upon my word, searched round about the house, looked into the chests and trunks, examined the vessels in the cellar. Finding no other warlike furniture, he asked me what horses I had, for his commission was to take them also. I told him how poorly I was stored and that my age would not allow me to travel on foot. In conclusion, he took one horse for the present: and such accompt of another that he did highly expostulate with me afterwards that I had otherwise disposed of him." After this came the sequestrators with the news that they must take possession of the palace, and all the bishop's estate, both real and personal. Certain officers sent by their command to value all the goods in the house, performed their task "with all diligent severity;

not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my children's pictures out of their curious inventory. Yea, they would have apprised our very wearing clothes, had not Alderman Tooley and Sheriff Rawley, to whom I sent to require their judgment concerning the ordinance in this point, declared their opinion to the contrary." Books and household stuff were exposed for sale, and but for the compassion of a gentlewoman of Norwich and a clergyman in the diocese who came forward to advance their value, would have been all lost to the bishop. He had now but scanty means left for replacing even the barest necessaries. All his rents had been stopped and the order for the yearly payment of £400 remained a dead letter. He appealed to the Parliamentarian Committee in the city who promised to secure him the pension out of the manors of the bishopric. It soon became evident, however, that the commissioners had over-estimated their powers. An order of inhibition came down from London, and the sole concession eventually granted was a tardy allowance to Mrs. Hall of one fifth for the maintenance of herself and her family. The synodals were kept back, and ordinations and institutions were the only spiritual profits left to the bishop. It was not long before these too were denied him. "Certain forward volunteers in the city," having stirred up the mayor and corporation to interfere, "divers of them came to my gate at a very unseasonable time, and knocking very vehemently, required to speak with the bishop. Messages were sent to them to know their business; nothing would satisfy them but the bishop's presence. At last I came down to them and demanded what the matter was: they would have the gate opened, and then they would tell me. I answered that I would know them better first: if they had anything to say to me, I was ready to hear them. They told me they had a

writing to me from Mr. Mayor and some other of their magistrates. The paper contained both a challenge of me for breaking the covenant, in ordaining ministers, and, withal, required me to give in the names of those which were ordained by me both then and formerly since the covenant. My answer was, that Mr. Mayor was much abused by those who had misinformed him, and drawn that paper from him; that I would the next day give a full answer to the writing. They moved that my answer might be by my personal appearance at the Guildhall. I asked them when they ever heard of a Bishop of Norwich appearing before a mayor. I knew mine own place, and would take that way of answer which I thought fit; and so dismissed them, who had given out that day that had they known before of mine ordaining, they would have pulled me and those whom I had ordained out of the chapel by the ears."

Bishop Lyhert's sturdy oaken gates stood his successor in good stead on more than one occasion, but did not always avail to keep out the Puritan mob. "One while," continues Bishop Hall, "a whole rabble of volunteers came to my gates late, when they were locked up, and called for the porter to give them entrance; which being not yielded, they threatened to make by force; and had not the said gates been very strong they had done it. Others of them clambered over the walls and would come into my house: their errand, they said, was to search for delinquents. What they would have done I know not, had we not by a secret way sent to raise the officers for our rescue. Another while, the Sheriff Toftes and Alderman Linsey attended with many zealous followers, came into my chapel to look for superstitious pictures and relics of idolatry, and sent for me to let me know they found those windows full of images which were

very offensive and must be demolished. I told them they were the pictures of some ancient and worthy bishops, as St. Ambrose, Austin, etc. It was answered me that they were so many popes, and one younger man amongst the rest (Townsend, as I perceived afterwards) would take on him to defend that every diocesan bishop was pope. I answered him with some scorn, and obtained leave that I might, with the least loss and defacing of the windows, give order for taking off that offence, which I did, by causing the heads of those pictures to be taken off since I knew the bodies could not offend."

For a short time after the desecration of the cathedral in June, 1644, Bishop Hall was suffered to remain at the palace though with a poor retinue and means. Miles Corbet, however, at whose instance the grant of the pension had been revoked, thought the house too good for him and sent many peremptory messages for his removal. The ostensible pretext was that the palace was required as a meeting-place free of cost for the commissioners, but though Mrs. Hall offered to pay the rent of the building they then occupied out of her fifth it was of no avail, the bishop and his family were driven out and might have had no lodging but the street had not a kindly neighbour in the close lent them his house. From this hospitable refuge they afterwards removed to the small suburb of Heigham, where Dr. Hall spent the last years of his life, preaching, whenever the opportunity was granted him, in the Norwich churches, administering, at least on one occasion, when Simon Patrick, the future Bishop of Ely, came to him with two other fellows of his college, the rite of ordination in his own parlour, and still practising with his straightened means the munificent charity which had always characterized him. "A Person of singularly Humility,

Patience and Piety," as his friend and physician, Sir Thomas Browne, described him; "his own Works are the best Monument and Character of himself."

Meanwhile the palace came into the hands of the trustees appointed by the Long Parliament to deal with the bishops' lands and was sold, with its site, ground, and soil, its chapel, houses, buildings, courtyards, and orchards, covering in all an area of six acres and two roods, to John Blackwell in 1647. The leads and material of all the buildings were valued at £800, the site itself at £260. Not long afterwards Captain Blackwell stripped the leads from palace and chapel, tore the casements from their hinges and defaced both buildings in other ways. The hall was turned into a meeting-house for the sectaries, and some of the rooms were let out as tenements to poor families.

Dr. Hall did not live to see the Restoration. When in the April of 1662 Miles Corbet, suffering on the scaffold as a regicide, tasted the hard measure he had meted out to others, the palace from which he had been driven was in other hands. In character and learning Edward Reynolds was no unworthy successor to Bishop Hall. Sir Thomas Browne, who knew him well, described him as "a person much of the temper of his predecessor"; and it was fortunate for the diocese that Baxter, though declining a bishopric for himself, advised Reynolds to accept the see. As one of the leading Presbyterians he had been a member of the Long Parliament's Assembly of Divines, but had afterwards undergone some persecution from the Independents. Their treatment, however, did not make him intolerant, and the fifteen years of his mild and beneficent rule were unstained by any violent measures against the Nonconformists.

At Norwich, where he chiefly resided, he found the palace

almost in ruins. When it had been rendered habitable once more he proceeded to build a new chapel in the place of Bishop Salmon's, which was now quite past repair, the fabric itself having become ruinous and useless since the removal of the leads. It was therefore pulled down, and some of the materials were used in the erection of its successor. This, which was of smaller dimensions and fitted up with wainscoted sides and stuccoed flat ceiling, was built almost entirely at Reynolds's expense. Here he lies buried, and his monument at the east end faces that of his successor, Anthony Sparrow.

The new chapel had not been consecrated when Charles II. came to Norwich in the September of 1671. He reached Trowse Bridge in the afternoon, with the Dukes of York, Monmouth, and Buckingham in his train, whilst the queen travelled later by a different route. The old palace of the Dukes of Norfolk in the heart of the city, according to a contemporary account the greatest town-house in the kingdom out of London, had been richly furnished for the occasion, and here the king and his court were sumptuously entertained by Lord Henry Howard. On the following day Charles went to the cathedral, whence, says a Norwich gentleman who wrote a full description of the royal visit to a friend, "he retyred out of the Crowd and stept into the Lord Bishop's Palace adjoyninge to refresh himselfe with a Glass of choyce wyne and sweetmeates, atended only by his Roial Highnesse the Duke of Buckingham and ye Lord Howard." The Duke of York visited Norwich again on his return from Scotland, nearly ten years later, in the midst of a Tory reaction against the Exclusion Bill. He came on the invitation of the city, and was met at the Bishop's Gate at nine o'clock in the evening by the magistrates, who conducted

him, after due formalities, to the New Hall, great guns firing, bells ringing, and bonfires blazing meanwhile: that night he was lodged at the bishop's palace, from which the next morning he went on his way to Newmarket.

James's host on this occasion, the Royalist bishop, Sparrow, who, like Reynolds, made the palace his home, and was much loved and respected in Norwich, did not long survive his accession. Under his successor, the non-juror Lloyd, a great change came over the sentiments of the citizens. On the eve of the Revolution a Protestant Duke of Norfolk, son of the Lord Henry Howard who had entertained Charles II., rode into the city at the head of three hundred knights and gentlemen, and declared for a free Parliament. He was welcomed by the mayor and aldermen, whilst the common people evinced their approval by breaking out into riots in which they burned the furniture of a new Roman Catholic chapel, pillaged the houses of Papists, and threatened finally to plunder the bishop's palace and the dwellings of the principal residents. At this point, however, vigorous measures were adopted to check their depredations, and the palace remained untouched by violence or alteration until the first half of the following century. Considerable changes were made during that period by Bishops Trimnell and Gooch. On his arrival at Norwich in 1738, Bishop Gooch repaired and beautified the palace at very great expense, adding much to its convenience, we are told, "by opening a Way on the North Side of the Church out of the Upper Close, which enabled him, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter, not only to set aside the Passage to the Palace through the Church, but to shut it quite up, unless in the Time of Divine Service, preventing thereby that scandalous but common practice of carrying Burthens of all kinds thro'

it, even during the Performance of Service therein." It does not appear that Sir Thomas Gooch, as he became after his translation to Ely, spent much time at the palace. He was master of Caius College and lived chiefly at Cambridge. Notwithstanding his non-residence he was very greatly beloved in the diocese, his unconcealed pursuit of preferment being no doubt forgotten in the charm of his generous and kindly spirit, lively wit, and attractive presence. His charity seems to have been almost unbounded, and it is small wonder that he left Norwich declaring "that he was not a farthing richer since he was a bishop."

Other alterations had been made in the palace before 1754 when the Thetford antiquary, "Honest Tom Martin," dined there with Bishop Haytor, whose fine new large hall and other improvements and embellishments, both in the house and its extensive gardens, seemed "surprizingly beautifull" to his guest, and were no doubt the modern buildings which were said, fifty years later, to give the episcopal residence the appearance rather of a small town than of a single dwelling.

Some memories of Bishop Horne, the earnest and devout commentator on the Psalms, still linger about the palace. He was in failing health when he came to Norwich, and exclaimed on reaching the large flight of steps on the west front by which the house was then entered: "Alas, I am come to these steps at a time of life when I can neither go up them nor down them with safety." At his chaplain's instance he was persuaded to walk every morning in the garden, but increasing illness soon drove him from the diocese, and he died at Bath eighteen months after his consecration.

Few events in the social history of their city seem to have

Sir Thomas Gooch, Bishop of Ely.
From an engraving in the British Museum.

made a greater impression on the good people of Norwich than the grand ball given by Mrs. Manners-Sutton in honour of the young Prince William of Gloucester, nephew of George III., who came here in 1800. The splendour of the scene and the gay decorations which adorned the interior of the palace eclipsed all earlier memories, and when Bishop Stanley began his residence thirty-seven years later his son wrote that the only associations with the place were the examinations for ordination and "an enormous ball." Possibly the lavish expenditure necessitated by this occasion, as well as his large family and undoubted liberality, had something to do with the pecuniary difficulties in which Bishop Manners-Sutton was involved during his residence at Norwich. His elevation to the primacy in 1805 was followed by the election of one who was known for many years as the only Liberal bishop in the House of Lords. During the twenty-two years of his episcopate Bishop Bathurst never wavered in his support of Catholic emancipation, sacrificing Court favour, and every chance of preferment, to this cause.

In Norwich his lovable disposition and urbane manners rendered him popular even with those who held different views. His daughter tells a story of how a certain resident attacked him in a violent letter, but was so disarmed by the temperate reply he received that he hastened to the palace to apologize. Dr. Bathurst's acquaintance with "Coke of Norfolk," begun before his promotion to Norwich, was there ripened into an intimate friendship, and he was a frequent visitor at Holkham. It was natural that his staunch support of Liberal measures should bring him into close association with the great Norfolk agriculturist and politician, and earn him also the esteem of Charles James Fox, who vainly urged his translation to the Archbishopric of Dublin on the ground

that he was "the only tolerant bishop." Other qualifications were needed to attract Elizabeth Fry's brother, Joseph John Gurney of Earlham. In 1811 a meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society was held in Norwich, and the bishop presided. The genuine and loving sympathy with all Christian workers of whatever persuasion which he then evinced seems to have won him the affection of the gentle Quaker, who wrote to him nearly twenty years later: "For many years have I now enjoyed the privilege of thy friendship, and I can truly say that I have never more felt the value and pleasure of it than during our late intercourse."

When he was in residence at Norwich the greater part of the bishop's days were devoted to diocesan business, the evenings being generally passed in the quiet entertainment of friends and sometimes ending in a rubber of whist. He took a very great pleasure in the palace garden, where in the early summer mornings he was often to be seen wandering in night-cap and dressing-gown to watch the progress of his blossoms or fruit. It was here that Crabb Robinson, then on circuit in Norwich and introduced at the palace by a friend, found him arm-in-arm with a Roman Catholic. The bishop laid hold of him too, and the three representatives of the Roman, Anglican, and Nonconformist communions continued their walk thus linked together. Though "the Liberal bishop" was out of favour at Court, he, like his predecessor, had one visitor of royal birth. The Duke of Sussex came to the city in the autumn of 1824 as patron of a grand musical festival for the benefit of the hospital, and spent the week at the palace, attending all the concerts and expressing great satisfaction both with the management of the festival and his entertainment.

For the last few years of his life Dr. Bathurst generally

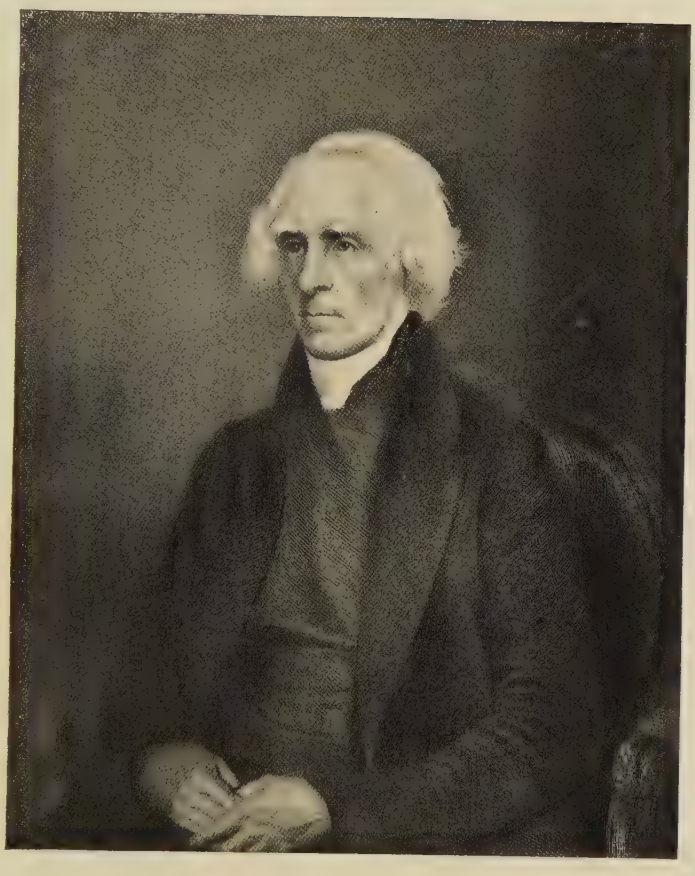
Dr. Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich.
From a print in the British Museum.

lived away from Norwich. Dean Stanley records that when his father first reached the palace he found it both dreary and dilapidated. His own impressions were more favourable. He was struck with its size rather than with its ugliness, and described it as a sort of Moscow amongst houses, containing very fine rooms side by side with the meanest of passages and staircases. "The dean's room," a small low-ceiled attic at the end of an upstairs passage towards the cathedral, where every morning, from ten to one, he stood working at his desk by the fire-place, was destroyed in 1858, but the passage and ante-room which led to it still remain.

Under Bishop Stanley's vigorous administration the palace became the centre of many activities, social and philanthropic as well as diocesan. "A bishop should always be at his post in the chief city of his diocese," was his answer to the proposal that he should live outside Norwich, and he made the city his peculiar charge. Visitors of all sorts and degrees—candidates for ordination, rural deans, representatives of different societies—were gathered from time to time under his hospitable roof. Here, in 1843, he entertained the Irish priest, Father Mathew, who had lately converted his country-people to temperance. Another guest who stayed twice at the palace was the famous singer, Jenny Lind. In the early years of his episcopate he had encountered much opposition, but long before its close he won the esteem and affection of all classes. Eyewitnesses describe his funeral as one of the most impressive sights ever beheld in Norwich Cathedral. Every place of business in the city had been closed, and the long procession of clergy and citizens which followed his coffin moved from the palace to the Erpingham Gate through a silent crowd of 20,000 spectators. In the church itself were many more thousands, all in mourning

and not a few deeply affected. He was buried in the centre of the nave, according to his own wish with neither tomb nor effigy.

Bishop Stanley's work in Norwich was that of an organizer and reformer; he was not one of her building prelates. With the exception of some general repairs which were needed to render it a habitable home for his family and the erection of the great oriel window in the drawing-room he made little change in the palace. During the episcopate of Bishop Pelham, however, it underwent extensive alterations, the north-west corner being rebuilt and other portions entirely demolished. The most ancient part of the building, which had always been united to the cathedral, was pulled down, and in the opposite direction communication between the house and chapel was cut off by the removal of some rooms and a staircase at the east end of the great dining-room. These were almost in ruins, and the dining-room itself was so unsafe that it was rebuilt, the old room at the east end being added to it. The chapel which Bishop Stanley had found and been obliged to leave "a wilderness and lumber-room" was entirely restored by Bishop Pelham, and for about eighteen years used as the church of the parish in the close called St. Mary-in-the-Marsh. Since that time Bishop Sheepshanks has connected the chapel with the house by a new passage and made considerable improvements in the interior. The fine windows which Reynolds had rescued from the earlier building destroyed by the Puritans, are still its chief beauty. The work of the restorers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the inevitable changes wrought by time and neglect have made the house itself an irregular building with few architectural merits; but though its interest lies mainly in associations with the different



EDWARD STANLEY, BISHOP OF NORWICH.
From a print in the British Museum.

prelates who lived here it bears even now a certain venerable and picturesque aspect.

The third and fourth volumes of Blomefield's *History of Norfolk* contain many scattered references to the bishop's palace. For its founder, Dean Goulburn's *Life, Letters and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga* and Mr. Beloe's article in the *Norfolk Archæology* (vol. viii.) are the chief authorities. Mr. Harrod described his excavations in the palace grounds in vol. vi. of the same journal, and an account of St. George's Gild from Mackarell's unpublished history of Norwich appeared in vol. iii. Much general information is to be gathered from Dean Goulburn's *Ancient Sculptures of Norwich Cathedral,* and Dr. Jessopp's *Diocese of Norwich.* In the *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany* (vols. ii. and iii.) and Burns's *History of Foreign Protestant Refugees,* the story of the Walloon congregation is told. Britton described Alnwick's Gateway in an article on the "Ancient Gate-houses of Norwich" (*Archæological Institute Proceedings,* 1847), and the palace itself in his *History of Cathedral Churches,* whilst the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* (vol. xiv.) also contains a brief account. The principal authorities for the sixteenth and seventeenth century bishops are: *Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops,* by the Rev. F. O. White; Parker's *Correspondence,* Strype's *Annals* and *Life of Parker,* Octavius Gilchrist's memoir of Corbet, Bishop Hall's *Hard Measure* and his life, by the Rev. John Jones; Christopher Wren's *Parentalia,* Sir Thomas Browne's *Repertorium,* Chalmers's memoir of Bishop Reynolds, *Acts of the Privy Council,* and *Calendar of State Papers.* More recent lives are those of Bishop Bathurst by his daughter Mrs. Thistlethwayte; of Dean Stanley, by Prothero, and of Bishop Stanley, by the dean. At the Public Record Office the following documents

bear on this subject: Pat. 2 Edw. VI., pt. 6, m. 8; Close 23 Chas. I., pt. 3, No. 27; Exch. Spec. Com. Norf. 38 Eliz., No. 1607; State Papers Domestic, Chas. I., Vol. 70, No. 67, and the Chancery Guild Certificate, No. 29. The add. MSS. 5828 and 27967, in the British Museum, give some details about Sir Thomas Gooch, and the visit of Charles II., and Freake's letter praying for his removal is preserved in Lansdown MS. 38. A contemporary account of Elizabeth's visit is incorporated in a later edition of Holinshed's Chronicle.

The Palace of Hereford

LYING between the city and the open country, protected on the one side by the windings of the Wye, on the other by the towering pile of the cathedral, the palace of Hereford carries with it a sense of quiet yet strenuous life, of leisure that is only rest, and of a beauty grown to its height after many years.

The palace lies built round three sides of a square, open to the sun and the river on the south, with stables and low red kitchens on the west and north, and on the east with the ancient Norman hall, the *curia episcopi*, as it was called. And the palace is a true manor-house, not isolated or remote, but essentially at one with the people who live not a stone's throw from the gate.

Ancient as is the see of Hereford, little has been preserved to tell us of its lands before the Conquest, nor do we know by whom the present site of the cathedral was given to the Church. A tradition points to Milfrid, King of Mercia, as the donor of much land round the city; but Canon Capes, in his introduction to the printed volume of "Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral," declares that it is impossible to distinguish earlier gifts from those which Offa is said to have made in expiation of his murder of the saintly Ethelbert, King of East Anglia. The reason of this silence of the past must be sought in the peculiar position, and consequently history, of the county. Throughout the

centuries it has been a borderland; all through the Middle Ages just beyond it dwelt the Welsh, whose race-hatred for the Englishmen, their invaders and neighbours, was heightened and sharpened by a hunger for the good things of the plain. From this they were geographically divided only by the Wye, west of which the land was always in debate, held indeed nominally by Englishmen, but subject not merely to raids, but to immemorial customs and incidents of tenure which marked it off distinctly from the rest of the shire. Hereford, built on the banks of the Wye, was therefore not merely the chief town of a county, but was also essentially an outpost and a bulwark of defence for the fertile lands around, and to this its character it owes its distinctive story. One of the first events known in its history was its harrying in 1055 by the Welsh, under Gruffydd ab Llywelyn, when the citadel was destroyed as well as the cathedral but newly erected by Bishop Ethelbert. A punitive expedition under Earl Harold followed, and Hereford was fortified with a rampart and ditch, and later with a stone wall. The castle was first built by Earl William in 1055, its wooden tower, stockade, and ditch being the precursor of the castle which was dismantled at the close of the seventeenth century.

In all the fighting the bishop must have played his part, for he was not only a bishop but a great temporal lord, head of a barony, with a special care for the marches; the temporal aspect of his rule was particularly emphasized in Hereford, where the palace was the head of a distinct lordship or fee.

The earliest evidence of the existence of a palace is architectural rather than documentary, and it is impossible to assign an exact date to the remains of what Mr. Francis

Bond, in his "Gothic Architecture in England," has characterized as one of the oldest and the best preserved of the Norman roofs in this country. Originally this roof covered a great hall running north and south, and at a distance of perhaps a hundred yards from the south wall of the cathedral. The hall itself was a hundred feet long and fifty-five feet wide, forming a magnificent space for a great assembly either at a banquet, court, or one of those musters which must so often have met within its walls when the Welsh had exceeded their lawful bounds. There are still great woods in Herefordshire, but they were much greater in extent then than now; perhaps it was in the Forest of Dene, where the oak still flourishes, that the bishop obtained the timber for his hall. Huge trees they must have been, for only heart of oak can be seen, and the planks used must have been, as Mr. Havigal has estimated, 16 feet long, 2 feet thick, and at least 4 feet 6 inches wide. Like most domestic halls of early date the plan adopted was that which the builders of churches used, and the space was divided into three portions, consisting of a nave 23 feet wide, flanked on either side by aisles, each of which was 16 feet broad. The columns of the aisles were formed by the giant oak planks, cut square with a circular projection on each side, running upward above men's heads to 12 feet from the floor, where they ended in carved capitals. The side arches, which supported the roof of the aisles, sprang likewise from such capitals at 16 feet from the ground, while the arches of the central nave sprang from capitals 23 feet up the wall. Such was the splendid hall which men saw rise at least seven hundred years ago, and which still shelters part of the present palace. There must, of course, have been other buildings attached to serve as kitchens, offices, or stables, but the only other

part of the palace of which we have certain knowledge is the chapel.

The hall has been attributed, with what reason is not evident, to Gilbert Foliot, the remarkable man who became Bishop of Hereford in 1148. The full strength of his character and influence only became known in 1162, when he opposed the election of Becket, though the private relations of the two men were not unfriendly. It has been suggested that to him rather than to William Fitz Stephen is due the credit of the remark that the king had wrought a miracle in turning a secular man and a soldier into an archbishop. Foliot had held the bishopric for sixteen years when, in 1163, he was translated to London. A few instruments of his still survive, among them being a grant to his canon, Ranulf, of the land which his father, Erkomar, had held as far back as the time of Richard, bishop from 1121 to 1131. The house on it was small, so small that Gilbert Foliot enlarged the holding by adding to it a second house near at hand, but to it was annexed land in "Cocedale" and an orchard in the Barton, or farm-ground, west of what is now Bridge Street. Robert de Melun, the successor of Gilbert Foliot, held the see but for four years, and on his death, licence of election was refused by Henry II., whose obstinacy had been thoroughly aroused by his experiences with Becket. Among the chancellor's followers in 1151 had been Robert Foliot, a connection of the previous Bishop of Hereford; but although Robert was so high in Becket's favour that he was given the Archdeaconry of Oxford, he was in such close touch with the opposite party that he exchanged affectionate letters with Gilbert Foliot, even when that bishop lay under the excommunication of Becket. It was, perhaps, as a result of this

friendship that in 1155 Robert Foliot was chosen to fill the newly founded Prebend of Wellington in Hereford Cathedral, and it may have been due to the same influence that Henry was persuaded to give way in favour of Foliot, who was appointed as Bishop of Hereford in 1167 though he was not consecrated until 1174. As a bishop Robert Foliot showed himself very active, and he did much to enrich his cathedral by gifts of all kinds, not merely of ornaments, vessels, and books, but of land. But although these gifts are mentioned there seems no reason to assign to him the building of the palace hall, which has been ascribed to his episcopacy. More probably the building was the work of his successor, William de Vere, who was consecrated to the see in 1186, and held it until his death in 1200. The documentary evidence in his favour is almost negative in character, or perhaps it can best be described as circumstantial. For the present purpose one of his most important steps was the purchase of the piece of land once held by Ranulf, son of Erkomar, that same Ranulf whom Gilbert Foliot had styled "his canon," perhaps being, as Canon Capes suggests, his penitentiary. This Ranulf was succeeded by a son of the same name, who sold his holding to the bishop, his feudal lord. The land was given by the bishop to God, the Blessed Mary the Virgin, and to the Chapter of Hereford and is described as all that land before our door at Hereford which once belonged to Ranulf son of Erkomar and afterwards to Ranulf his son. The grant is important as showing that a portion of the land of the church was already set apart for the dwelling-place of the bishop, and that the dwelling-house was such as to be regularly defended by a great door or gateway, the ancestor of the picturesque entrance of the present day. It may well be that William de Vere

erected the hall, for his love for architecture was great, and the cathedral long bore marks of his rule in the alterations and additions he made to the older fabric throughout the eastern portion of the church.

Of the history of the palace during the thirty or forty years following the death of William de Vere we know little or nothing, and his successors, Giles de Bruce, Hugh de Mapenore, and Hugh Foliot, are scarcely more than names. Even Ralph Maidstone, who succeeded them and became bishop in 1234, left little permanent mark on the history of the see, though he benefited the estates by the purchase of that house in Fish Street which became the London residence of his successors. Devout and weary of the world, he only remained bishop until December 1239, when he resigned and entered the Gloucester house of the Franciscans, where he died. The canons of Hereford thought of him with gratitude, and on each 27th of December, as the years passed by, they remembered him at Mass, for had he not given to his cathedral church two antiphonaries, with a Psalter, a gradual, and two volumes of the Golden Legend, not to speak of other things?

The vacancy in the see supplied Henry III. with the chance of rewarding one Peter de Aigueblanche, whom he was anxious to serve; in 1240 the king succeeded in his efforts to procure the see for his friend, and Peter was consecrated bishop at St. Paul's in December of that year. Peter de Aigueblanche, was one of those Savoyards introduced by the king's marriage with Eleanor of Provence. His whole time was spent at the Court, the business of his diocese being transacted by officials, among whom the most hated was his financial agent, Bernard, Prior of Champagne. As the years passed and nothing was seen of the bishop, though promotions were given to his foreign relations,

discontent became as rife among the English canons and tenants at Hereford as among the English nobles at the Court. In spite of a temporary breach with Henry III., caused by the bishop aiding Boniface in protecting William de Raleigh, Bishop of Winchester, against the king, Peter continued an ally of the Royalist party in the Barons' War which now broke out. At Hereford the struggle had tragic results, for it gave the English party courage to attack the foreigners whom Peter had appointed. Party feeling had no reverence for sacred buildings, and one of the first warnings of the coming storm was heard on the day when Robert de Bosbury dragged Peter de Langon, a Savoyard prebendary, from his stall. The natural result of this was increased rancour on both sides, and the French officials of the bishop must have soon realized that they carried their lives in their hands. How true was this was proved soon afterwards. Bernard, Prior of Champagne, went one morning to his Mass in the little chapel of St. Mary Magdalene just without the great hall of the palace, which it served. It must have been dark in there, for the windows were ancient and very small. Nor was there any way of escape through the chapel of St. Catherine beneath. St. Mary Magdalene's was not unfrequented, for tenants of the fee would worship there as well as those from the palace hard by, and Bernard could have thought nothing of the presence of John de Frome, although he was not of the bishop's household. The prior turned as he did his service, and John sprang on him. "A second St. Thomas," some must have thought as they saw the prior lying there hacked to his death; but most rejoiced, and the news spread abroad that at Hereford, at least, there was one fewer of the pestilent foreign brood. John de Frome was seized and haled to prison by the king's officers; as he

was reputed a clerk, Bishop Peter claimed him for his own dungeon, but no sign of tonsure was found on him, so the royal officers had him again. A wretched prisoner, he was hurried off to London, where his friends induced the Bishop of London to claim him as a cleric once more, and Peter de Aigueblanche also desired his custody. The officials were utterly puzzled; the crime was notorious; John's clerkship doubtful, but his friends very powerful; and the question was carried to Henry III. far away in Gascony. He was equally perplexed, and the last mention of John is to be found in the royal order that he is to be handed over to the officer of the Archbishop of Canterbury who is to keep him in ward until some settlement of the question could be made. John de Frome was probably anxious to escape the prison of the Bishop of Hereford, for Peter felt much sorrow for the death of his trusted clerk. His punishment of the canons was characteristic of the age, for in 1256 he bought certain lands in the neighbouring village of Holme Lacy from Craswell Priory and vested them in the dean and chapter for the good of his own soul, and the souls of the other bishops of his diocese, and of Bernard, Prior of Champagne and others, conditional on the distribution of certain doles of corn to the poor. Possibly even this transaction was carried out without Peter having visited Hereford, for in 1263 the cathedral was in a condition of such laxity on the part of the canons as can only have arisen after many years neglect by their visitor. At the end of May in that year Henry III. visited the city. He was doubtless surprised on his entry into the city to be received by no procession of great ecclesiastics bearing relic and cross and decked with all that pomp of colour and richness which he loved. Inquiries as to their absence mingled with his discussions of the strength of the castle, and the

king learnt with something like horror that not merely was the bishop unknown there, but that no vicar of his or dean was to be found; moreover the great cathedral, once wont to shed forth delights, was now silent, for the canons who ought to serve there day and night had gone their ways into far-off parts. The king was full of a righteous anger that third day of June when he called to him a clerk; stern were the words dictated: "Shepherds," the king wrote "are set over their flocks to keep watch over them day and night"; but Peter had betrayed his trust, for he had left his sheep all unprotected and unfed. But though the offence was spiritual Peter was also a temporal lord, and Henry intimated in plain terms that unless he returned to his duties and his diocese he would take the temporalities into his own hands. Henry did well to be angry at the bishop's neglect, but probably his feelings were also influenced by considerations of his own interest, for it was important that the bishop should be able to bring to Henry's aid the whole force of his barony. The remonstrance had its effect, and Peter took up his residence in his cathedral city. The Barons' War was now at its height, and Peter was still recognized as one of the leaders of the royal party. So influential was he that the barons deemed it desirable to put a term to his plans and counsels, and a daring plot was devised. The bishop received warning and, partly for sanctuary, partly for greater safety since the palace does not seem to have been fortified, he betook himself to the cathedral one day in May, 1263. Here he stood a regular siege, but at length an entrance was made, and the baronial party rushed in. Thomas Turbeville made for the bishop and, as Robert of Gloucester says, "harlede him out of church"; in the meanwhile the Savoyard canons had been secured. With the bishop prisoner the palace soon fell into

the raiders' hands, and Peter's treasure was confiscated. The barons then rode off with their captives, whom they lodged in Roger de Clifford's castle of Eardisley. It was not until September that they were released, and then Peter went abroad, where he remained until his death in 1268.

In 1269 John le Breton became bishop, and held the see until he died in 1275, leaving his episcopal lands and manors in a state of great dilapidation and neglect. Among the canons of Hereford was Thomas de Cantelupe. He owed his position, in some measure, to family influence, for his father was William, second baron of that name, and his uncle was Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester, and a great friend of Simon de Montfort. Educated at Oxford and Paris he was a chaplain to Innocent IV., and in 1262 was elected as Chancellor of Oxford. There he made a reputation for legal knowledge, and in 1265 he was made Chancellor of England under the baronial party. This promotion he lost after the Battle of Evesham when he thought it advisable to retire to Paris and abandon the law for theology. In 1266 he was back in England and in favour with Henry III. who offered no resistance to his election to the see of Hereford in 1275; later he was one of the most trusted of all those able ministers whom Edward I. gathered round him for his service. Very different was his sway in the diocese to that of his predecessors; everywhere active, he wrought many reforms and brought the organization into good order. It is significant that his register is the earliest one surviving for this diocese. The episcopal manors also came in for their share of attention, and he insisted on his bailiffs rendering regular account. He does not seem to have passed much time at his palace, and it has been even doubted whether he kept it in such state as would enable him to use it. He was,

however, careful to maintain the rights of his fee against the encroachments of the city, just as he vindicated the rights of the Church in more general matters, thus bringing on himself excommunication by Peckham. His quarrel with the archbishop sent him to Orvieto where Martin IV. was then living, and there Cantelupe died in 1282, in the presence of his friend Richard de Swinfield.

Of the early life of this man we know little, but the first notice of him which has come down to us connects his name with Thomas de Cantelupe, whose service he entered as chaplain. Naturally tactful, painstaking, and gentle, he was for eighteen years his master's secretary, agent, and friend His position brought with it certain ecclesiastical preferments and in 1277 Cantelupe gave him a prebend in Hereford Cathedral. This was followed, before 1280, by the Chancellorship of Lincoln, and in 1281—2 by the Prebend of St. Pancras in St. Paul's. His knowledge of the diocese made him eminently suited to fill the vacant bishopric, although he suffered from an internal trouble which prevented his taking part in general politics. Nevertheless, he was active in visiting his diocese, travelling in a cart when riding was impossible for him. As a result of his efforts and those of Edward I., the Pope, Clement V., appointed the Bishops of London and Mende, with the Papal Nuncio, William de Testa, to make the examinations necessary before Cantelupe could be canonized. The first meeting was held at St. Paul's in July, 1307, and on August 30 the Bishops of London and Mende set out for Hereford to continue their questionings. It was a gay cavalcade that rode into Hereford, and made its way through the city to the palace gate, perhaps one of the gayest that passed in that way for many a year, for Swinfield, when alone, travelled very soberly. The sumpterers had travelled

on before with the hangings and furnishings of the bishop's chambers, and great preparations had been made. The palace had been thoroughly cleaned, a great brewing and baking had gone forward, and a huge stock of venison had been brought in from the outlying manors, as well as beef, mutton, and birds of all kinds.

The bishops soon got to work. In the cathedral they had enough evidence of faith, for there the sick and infirm waited day and night for healing. Already the tomb of Cantelupe was hung with offerings: 211 ships of silver or wax attested to escapes from the sea; 1,553 waxen or silver images of men or their limbs stood for other mercies; and seventy-seven figures of birds had been offered with prayers for recovery, such as the king himself had made through Thomas Corbett for the recovery of a sick falcon. To the occular proofs of silver and gold, gold thread, and silken attire, were added no less than 204 miracles; and the commissioners toiled with the details all through the summer days, and only finished their task when November came. But Swinfield had done his part, and Cantelupe was declared a saint.

Although Swinfield passed some months at his palace at this time he does not appear to have occupied it much later in his life, and in 1289—90, when the business and procession of Palm Sunday brought him from Sugwas to the city, he dined with his favourites, the Friars Minor. At the same time he did not neglect his lands and manors but kept them in good repair. Although knowledge of the state of the palace at this time is very meagre, it is possible to reconstruct his household in minute detail by the fortunate chance which preserved the "Roll of Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield," edited by Webb for the Camden Society in 1854—5. The household of the bishop moved with him

everywhere, and consisted usually of about forty persons, divided among the four classes of squires, serving-men, inferior servants, and pages. Of the squires, the chief in 1289—90 was William de Cantelupe, a relation of the late bishop, whose office was complimentary, for he was rarely among the bishop's followers. Raulin de Marines was the actual leader of the bishop's gentlemen, and received a salary of no less than 16*s.* 8*d.* for the half-year. Under him were John de Basevill and Robert Deinte; Adam the marshal, and Richard, his second in command, completed the tale of the squires. Adam the marshal was a very important person in the household, for with him rested the ordering of the many and all matters concerning houses and journeys. Under the heading of serving-men the chief was Ralph, clerk of the chapel, who was normally helped by Robert his fellow, both receiving 6*s.* 8*d.* a year. John and Robert the carters, Ywenetto the larderer, Adam Harpin the falconer, William the door-keeper, Thomas the palfreyman, Robilardo the butler, were each entrusted with important departments, and among this class were also Henry de Beckford, a hunter, and two farriers. The inferior servants were thirteen in number, ranging from Adam of the chapel, who received 4*s.* 6*d.* a year, through the carter, cooks, Roger the baker, and two personal servants, to William, the sub-palfreyman. There were also thirteen pages attached to various household officers: the cook, the baker, the carter, and the huntsman. All the members of these four classes were in a strictly dependent position; but beside them were a few others, attached to the household in an official or private capacity. Of these the most important socially was Stephen, "my lord's brother" and a layman, who, with his little son, was permanently attached to the bishop's court. Contemporary with the little

boy was Walter, son of Sir Walter de Dunr', a tenant of an episcopal fee in Chilston, in the Golden Valley. On his father's death, this little boy had been handed over to the guardianship of the bishop as his feudal lord, and Richard de Swinfield had granted the custody to his brother Stephen that the two boys might be brought up together. "Watkyn," as the child was called, was always in the bishop's following, and seems to have been a great favourite. The presence of the children served to lighten a society from which women were entirely lacking, though Swinfield was not so rigorous as had been his predecessor, Cantelupe, who quelled even his sister's affection and himself slept elsewhere when she spent a night at his palace. Another layman was Reginald de Bocland. If Stephen undertook to help the bishop on social occasions, Thomas de la Dane was his right-hand man in all matters of business. He was a clerk in the household, as were six others, among whom Roger de Sevenak was the most important, though a position of peculiar trust was held by John de Kemeseye, who to his clerkly office added that of treasurer and writer of the accounts. These clerks were probably not always in attendance, but each took his turn, for all held benefices to eke out their salaries. The goods of the chapel were just as much carried from place to place as the furnishings of the bishop's room ; and Swinfield says in his will that he was often at a loss to obtain everything needful for the due observance of the rites until he himself bought the vessels. He, therefore, on his death, bequeathed to his successor the pontifical and all the books which he and his clerks were commonly wont to use in chapel—namely, those which he bought of the executors of St. Thomas Cantelupe, and to these he added a silver chrismatory bought in London, and one silver incense-box with its shell.

One of the most noteworthy of the Bishops of Hereford was Adam de Orlton—no saint, indeed, but a statesman who left his mark more deeply on the realm than on his diocese. In his early years he found a patron in one of the Mortimers, lords of Wigmore, and later he went abroad, becoming an auditor in the papal court. In this position he won the friendship of John XXII., and rumour named him as the next papal favourite to be rewarded with an English see. Accordingly, when the bishopric of Hereford became vacant in 1317, John nominated Orlton, who received a letter from the king enjoining him to refuse the Pope's nomination. Edward himself put forward a candidate in the person of Thomas de Charlton. Adam did not fall in with the king's desires, and on Sunday, October 2, 1317, the Archdeacon of Hereford enthroned his new bishop. Edward soon recovered from his disappointment, and recognized that in Orlton he had a most useful servant used to all the intrigues and by-ways of Continental politics. In 1318 and 1319 the Bishop of Hereford can have been little in his diocese, for he was sent on a mission to Philip V., and entrusted with both public and private business of the king. It has been pointed out in the printed edition of "Orlton's Register" that the bishop was guided in all things by strong personal loyalty to John XXII. on the one hand, and to Mortimer, who had now succeeded his father, on the other.

It was probably this personal friendship which led Orlton, in 1321, to take the side of the barons in their rising under Badlesmere; and so prominent a part did he play in their counsels that he was brought before Parliament and charged with treason as an adherent of Mortimer. The bishop at once denied the right of a lay tribunal to try an ecclesiastic, refusing to answer the charges brought against him. The

Archbishop of Canterbury supported him, and the whole body of bishops took him under their protection. But, though Orlton was thus saved from personal violence, he could not keep his temporalities from molestation when the king ordered them to be seized, and an immense amount of damage was done in the two and a half years in which they were sequestrated. The manors came largely into the hands of the younger Hugh Despenser, whose bitter grudge against the bishop found vent both in seizing the gold and silver vessels and other costly ornaments from the bishop's houses and in destroying his crops. The bishop was now practically outlawed, for hardly any dare give him food or shelter, and his train disappeared. Wandering about on foot, his only friends were those of the baronial party who were left in England. But as time passed, Edward alienated his people more and more, till the Despensers, Baldock his chancellor, and Stapleton his treasurer, were the only men on whom he could rely. Affairs were in this condition in September, 1326, when the queen landed at Harwich and made her way across England. Orlton had met her on her arrival, and had invited her to Hereford, which she reached a few weeks later, having passed through Oxford, Gloucester, Berkeley, and Bristol on her way. The move was amply justified, for Edward moved before the advancing army into Wales, and was practically cornered there. The queen was well accompanied; Orlton was her chief adviser, and she lodged at the palace, probably because the troops were occupying the castle. William, Earl of Lancaster, and William, Lord de la Zouche, were with her, as well as various permanent officials. A council was called to Hereford, and probably the bishop's hall was used for these meetings, as the chapter-house was too small a building for the purpose. Some effort

was made at bringing things into order, for on St. Cecilia's Day De la Zouche and Sir John and Sir Edward St. John "caused to be carried to the chamber of Queen Isabel . . . four bags wherein were rolls, inquisitions," and so on, taken from Swansea Castle, and these were delivered up to Master Henry de Cliff, keeper of the rolls of the Chancery, who took them to his lodging. It was apparently by Orlton's advice that the queen sent a detachment of troops into Wales; Edward was captured and sent a prisoner to Kenilworth. Bloody work was going on at Hereford; the Earl of Arundel, John Daniel, and Thomas de Michedeure, all obnoxious to the baronial party, were beheaded at the instigation, it was said, of Roger de Mortimer. Later, Hugh Despenser the younger was led out to die on gallows 50 feet high, and was then drawn and quartered, Simon de Reading meeting the same death. Baldock, one of the best hated men in England, would doubtless have suffered in the same way, but Orlton, who had himself pleaded clerkship in his dire straits, now claimed the chancellor as a clerk and lodged him in his prison. There he remained until early in the following year, when Orlton determined to have him tried before the Ecclesiastical Court in London. In January, therefore, he made the wearisome journey under guard, and was lodged in the bishop's town-house at St. Mary Mounthaw. But a few months before, Stapleton the treasurer had been murdered by the Londoners, who were still vehement against the king's party; Baldock now became their prey, for under the pretext that no man might keep a private prison within the liberties a mob seized the unfortunate cleric and shut him up in Newgate. On the way he was very roughly treated, and his injuries and the neglect of the next few weeks proved too much for him and he died in the gaol.

For the next hundred and fifty years the palace was little occupied by the bishops, and was indeed chiefly used for the holding of the manor courts of the bishop's fee, which were regularly held until the beginning of the eighteenth century, though in 1702 it was said that the power of the court was in a manner lost, "scarce any one minding to yield obedience thereto." It should be added that a court leet for the manor is still held.

The origin of the fee is unknown, but the church of Hereford certainly held it in the reign of Edward the Confessor, who granted that the priests might be free of all soke and sake on their lands and over their men, whether within or without the city, in as free a way as they had hitherto enjoyed. The result of this was that before Edward's death the bishop's fee was already established as a separate entity to the borough, though existing within its limits and so completely organized that the bishop had his "moneyer." As the organization of the borough became more defined the difficulty of this double jurisdiction increased, so that it forms the keynote to one of the most interesting portions of the history of the palace. For, besides its direct bearing on events, its indirect result was to make the bishops somewhat wary of visiting their city: it was an unpleasant state of affairs when the escort might at any moment be embroiled with the citizens, who would certainly refuse redress and probably make a counterclaim. The case was complicated by the absence of boundaries: at Lincoln the close was enclosed within a wall, and there could be no question as to whether a thief was taken on city ground or no. Here it was different, for the fee extended far beyond the proper limits of the close, and, indeed, covered nearly half the city. Moreover, the canonical houses were leased to lay-folk from an early date, and in

1321, when Adam de Orlton granted Richard de Vernon permission to unite to his own lodging that of Hugh de Braose the penitentiary, he explained that there were many canonical dwellings which from the inconvenience of the situation and other causes were not considered suitable for the canons and so had fallen into neglect. These houses stood near the palace, perhaps in Pie Lane, now Queen Street, but one, at least, was in Cabbage Lane, at some distance from the cathedral, and this was leased by Bishop Trevenant (1389—1404) to John the Carpenter, *alias* Menyfer, a citizen of Hereford. The lease was for forty years, and the rent two silver marks; moreover, John was to repair the hall and other buildings, and was also to add to the hall a chamber "with six posts."

Many such grants as this occur in the bishops' registers from this time down to 1702, when "ye Lady Croft held a mansion or canonical house" for three lives.

Undoubtedly the citizens had some room for complaint. They may well have thought it hard that householders within their very walls should have been free from the burden of contributing to the fee-farm rent, which the householders generally had to pay to the Crown. The city made some effort to get money from the bishop's tenants in about 1207, and were straightway excommunicated; this brought about their submission, and Hugh Foliot, who had taken the matter to the royal courts, absolved them on their promise to make restitution. Peace was only established for a time, and discontent again became rife. One of the most annoying of the bishop's rights was the St. Ethelbert's Fair, which began on the feast of St. Dunstan—that is, on May 19—and lasted for nine days. Usages such as this vary little from century to century, and probably the description given

to Bishop Humphrey in about 1702 of "the uninterrupted manner of holding the bishop's fair" represents immemorial custom. "The Bailiff and his Steward on the morning come to the palace and there call all the resiants of the said fee by name to appear and give their attendance on the Bailiff in proclaiming his Fair. When the Inhabitants are called, the Bailiff and Steward, with a mace before them, and perhaps a hundred or two hundred Horse attending them, ride round the fee and from one gate of the City to another till they have gone to every gate, and at each gate the Bailiffs appoint a porter for the nine days and the Steward gives him a proper oath; and then they ride to the High Cross and there the fair is proclaimed very solemnly and most commonly by the city cryer. The Bailiff by his two porters takes all the fair Toll at the respective gates of the City, and by his sergeant-at-mace the toll of the market of all sorts of grain and other things that ought to be tolled. The Bailiff also has the Benefit of pitching-pence and all standings erected on the High Causeway. The Bailiff frequently weighs the Butter, and if any deceit be he seizes it and gives it to the poor or where he pleases. During this fair the Mayor's Sergeants-at-mace execute no process without the leave of the Bailiffs." Such regulations were very galling, for they had the effect of making the citizens strangers within their own city, and in 1241 they actually class themselves with "other foreign merchants." A little before this date they had apparently started a separate market for themselves, and refused to sell their wool and grain with the traffickers from without. Once again the bishop subdued them, and though they made a rather half-hearted confession of his rights they promised in the future they would sell all their goods, except bread, wine, ale, flesh, and fish, in the

places assigned to them by the bishop's bailiff. Another twenty years brought a fresh quarrel. The city struck on the brilliant idea of retaliation by treating the tenants of the fee as foreigners, and so subject to all manner of vexatious tolls. They had also further developed their claim to sell victuals without interference from the bailiff into a definite denial of the bishop's claim to the assize of bread and ale, and they refused to allow the town's pillory and ducking-stool to be used for scolds and other offenders sentenced in the court of the fee. Once more the bishop appealed to the king's courts, and obtained judgment, and once more the city submitted—with how much repentance was evident in the following year when the citizens refused to give up the keys of the gates at the annual fair. The whole question was really one of jurisdiction; the bishop claimed that he alone could hold courts in his fee, that he alone had infangenethef and utfangenethef against felons, that he alone within his liberty could attach men's persons and put in prison. In 1285, after the bailiffs and citizens had made arrests within the fee and refused to give up his prisoners, the Crown once more interfered and addressed a writ to the sheriff to enforce submission. It was, therefore, only under pressure that on St. Denis's Day, 1285, the citizens went in state to the cathedral, and that there the bailiffs, William, called Godknave, John le Gaunter, Hugh Bolock and others, made submission.

In the fourteenth century the citizens' grievances centered chiefly round the prison, where the bishop kept not only criminous clerks but recalcitrant citizens of his fee. Even as late as the close of the seventeenth century, "when Mr. Hum: Gullipher was Bayliff, he sent a Ballad-singer to the Palace Prison for singing Ballades in ye nine days fair." It was also said that "one Probyn, an Ironmonger, bought of

Coll. Birch 10,000 weight of Iron that belonged to the Palace Prison." Though the ordinary janitor of the household was one of the lower servants the permanent janitor at Hereford was much more than this, being both keeper of the palace during the bishop's absence and, a still more important post, gaoler of the episcopal prison. He was appointed by a new bishop by a special warrant, and on the resignation of Nicholas de Grozord, a formal quittance was given him by Bishop Trellick. It is quite appreciable that when feeling between the city and the bishop's officers had grown very high, the keeper of the palace should have been decidedly unpopular. In the first half of the fourteenth century popular sentiment found vent in various petty thefts deliberately planned to annoy. Steps and a wicket-gate in the close disappeared, and in 1353 a more daring outrage was planned, doubtless brought about by some incident of which the particulars are lost. Whatever the cause, the plan was well thought out, the leader being William, son of Sir Roger Corbett, knight, one of the chief men of the county. How or when he did it is not known, but he managed to kidnap the janitor of the palace, put him in the city prison and carry off his keys, risking, as the record states, the danger of the greater excommunication. The scandal was, of course, tremendous, and the thing had been done so openly that there was no doubt of the culprit. William had apparently fulfilled his purpose, and he made submission on August 4, 1353, at St. Peter's Church, and, laying hands on the consecrated elements, one by one, he swore in solemn fashion to be of good behaviour in the future, and was thereupon absolved.

Little or nothing is known of the history of the palace during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and it was

probably not much used by the bishops during this period. Indeed, John Scory, who was translated to the see in 1559, found it "an uncommodious and unwholesome dwelling," and wished to pull down part of it. The chapter, however, still had a certain amount of power in the matter and vetoed the proposal. The bishop's views do not seem to have been shared by royal commissioners in 1535, when the temporalities were in the king's hand through the death of Charles Booth, for Sir Thomas Englefield wrote to Cromwell, saying: "It will be well when the king appoints any of his chaplains to the bishopric, we may have liberty to lie in the bishop's palace in Hereford at such times as we think convenient, as no other place is so suitable."

It was during the episcopate of Bishop Scory that the episcopal revenues were much diminished by one of those disastrous "exchanges" so fashionable at that date.

Among the lands then alienated to the Crown was the inn or lodging of the Bishops of Hereford in London. The house stood in the ward of Queenhithe on the west side of Old Fish Street, about 74 feet east of its junction with Lombard Street. Ralph de Maidstone bought it in about 1274 for £27 from, it is said, the Montalts, a family of much importance in Norfolk, where they were lords of Castle Rising. For this early ownership there is, however, no evidence beyond the statement of Stowe, and it is quite possible that the name of "Mounthaw," applied to the chapel, was derived in some other way. From the "Roll of Household Expenses of Bishop Swinfield," it is evident that the house was built partly of stone and partly of wood, and consisted of long rooms, with a hall, outbuildings, stables and cellars, and the chapel. This chapel became the parish church of St. Mary Mounthaw, the bishop being patron; burnt down in the Great Fire

of 1666 and never rebuilt, its rights became attached henceforth to St. Mary Somerset. From the first it seems to have been let to tenants who held it on condition that the bishop might have lodging there when his affairs brought him to London. So, in 1290, when Swinfield came to town he paid compensation to the tenant and also made various repairs; the carpenters mended the roof and set up a long manger in the stable for the many horses of the bishop's train; mats were bought for the benches in the hall, and rushes for the floor; there was a vigorous cleaning, and a pavement was laid down on the west side of the house in the garden or yard. Even greater must have been the preparations in 1307 when Swinfield entertained here the papal commissioner, Durandus, Bishop of Mende, who had come to make inquiry before Cantelupe could be canonized. Four years later Swinfield gave a lease of the premises to Hamo de Chigwell, whom Stowe calls a pepperer and the records a fishmonger. This lease was merely a continuation of a former tenancy, for it seems to have been in his family from its coming into the hands of the bishops, and Richard de Chigwell was holding it in 1289. Adam de Orlton seems to have retained the Chigwells as tenants, for in 1318 he acknowledged a debt of £20 to Hamo de Chigwell. In 1327 it, or part of it, seems to have been sub-let, for when Joan de Chigwell died she left in charity certain rents which she was wont to receive from it every year. It is certain that in 1400, at any rate, the whole of the tenement was not in the possession of one tenant, for in that year Bishop Trevenant leased to John Howell, mason, a "parcel of land of the garden in the west part of the lodging," opposite the king's highway, called "Lombardeshull next Oldefyschestret," on condition that he built thereon a house "de uno stage," in which no window

might overlook the garden, and that he did all repairs and maintained it against rain and wind. This must have been the tenement which was valued on Trevenant's death, in 1417, at 6*s.* 8*d.*, while the lodging was worth six marks. This shows a great increase in value since 1302—3, when it was appraised at only half a mark; but the value of land in the city was increasing rapidly, and in 1422 it was set down at £5.

Disastrous as was the "exchange" made by Scory to the revenues of the see it was favourable to the palace; as early as 1356 the enormous expenditure entailed by keeping up so many manor-houses had necessitated an arrangement between Trellick and his chapter by which the palace and the manor-houses at Sugwas, Prestbury, Whitborn, Bosbury, and Richard's Castle were to be maintained, while on the other manors only the farm buildings were to be kept in repair. The result of this further reduction was that the bishops were forced to live in the palace which had hitherto been so little frequented. Scory, whose avarice and neglect brought on his son a heavy claim for dilapidations, was followed by Herbert Westfaling and many another: Francis Godwin author of "The Man in the Moon," as well as of a learned catalogue of English bishops, was one of the best known before the Civil War.

As in most cathedral cities the Civil War had disastrous results to the fabric of cathedral and palace. The county was, on the whole, Royalist in sympathy, and in February 1641—2, the commissioners appointed by the king had no trouble in taking possession of the county magazine at St. Owen's Gate in Hereford. It was important for the Cavaliers to hold the city, for it secured their line of communication with Monmouthshire and southern Wales, and this made it

equally desirable to the Parliamentarians. On October 7, Lord St. John appeared with a regiment of foot and horse, and demanded entrance in the name of the Parliament. The mayor, in a panic, opened the gates, and the soldiers "with much joy were by all the well-affected townsmen received," as a newsletter tells. Meanwhile the Cavaliers in the city had taken refuge with the Marquis of Hertford, and on the next day, when Charles appeared before the gates, he was refused admission, "upon which His Majesty was much incensed, and in passion departed with his army towards Chester, hearing the Earl of Essex was marching toward Hereford." The Parliamentary forces under Lord Stamford occupied the city for some months, and then finding themselves isolated and their presence no longer needful they retreated to Gloucester, leaving Hereford to the Royalists under Colonel Sir Richard Lawder. They only retained it for a few months, for on April 25, 1643, Sir William Waller appeared and captured it and all its garrison. But he, too, was not strong enough to hold it long, and it was again evacuated in May. In April, 1645, Prince Rupert took up a stand here, and the Royalist strength was needed, for in July the Scottish army appeared in the country. The citizens were thoroughly alarmed, for only a week earlier the Roundheads had stormed Canon Frome and put the governor and the greater part of the garrison to the sword. A printed Letter to the governor gives a vivid account of the siege which began on July 30. The great point of the struggle was to cross the Wye, and the bridge was first attempted. The governor, Sir Barnabas Scudamore, "ensafed the ports," and stopped the cathedral bells and clocks so that the enemy might not tell how time went. Next morning the attack began in earnest. "Our men,"

Scudamore wrote, "galled them handsomely at their several sallies over Wye-bridge, once beat them up to their main guard and at another demolished one side of St. Martin's steeple, which would have much annoyed us at the Bridge and Palace; this was performed only with the hurt of two men, but with loss of great store of the enemy's men." This importance of the palace was great, for its gardens lay just to the east of the bridge, and if they were seized a way could be found to the castle, which was not now strong enough to bear investment. The attack on the bridge increased in fury after the Parliamentary Major-General Crafford was killed, and "they battered it so much (being the weakest) that it was rendered useless, yet our men stopt it up with Wooll-sacks and Timber, and for our greater assurance of eluding their attempt, we brake an Arch and raised a very strong Worke behind it." Batteries were then built on the Wye side and directed against the wall. No breach was made, but it must have been at this time that the mediæval outbuildings and offices of the palace were destroyed so that now nothing of them remains. The siege went on all through the hot days of August, but in spite of discomfort the citizens worked well, clergy and laymen alike took their place on guard, the women helped heedless of bullets, and the little boys delighted in being allowed to creep with torches to fire the enemy's lines. There was plenty of work for all, for the Scots were mining near St. Owen's Gate and counter-mines were the only remedy; then when the besieged were desperate, rain came. And it rained continuously day after day for eight days, drowning the Scottish mines completely. These were abandoned, but the siege was still pressed, and on August 31, a scaling-party was formed for next day; "but the same night His Majesty advancing from Worcester gave

them a very hot alarum, and drawing a little neerer to us, like the Sunne to the meridian, this Scotch mist begunne to disperse, and the next morning vanished out of sight." "Hereford," as Webb says, "and the whole country were transported with exultation and triumph." The triumph was to be shortlived. Webb, in his edition of the "Military Memoir of Col. John Birch," has shown how insecure was Scudamore's position; he had offended the city, and some of his garrison left him to join the enemy. Among these were Captains Alderne and Howarth, who came in contact with John Birch, a Presbyterian colonel, then Governor of Bath. It must have been about this time that the House of Commons ordered Birch to advance with 1,000 foot and horse "to distress the cittie of Hereford." They set out from Bath and Bristol on December 9, "which day it pleased God to begin a great frost, without which it had been impossible to have marcht at that time of the yeare in those Counties of Gloucester and Herefordshire." Birch formed a very simple plan, and marched his troops to Ledbury, the weather being so severe that some men died there from the cold. At nine o'clock on the evening of December 16, Birch roused his men, who marched on Hereford "speedily, but soe silently that a dog scarce barked all the night, though wee marched through three or four villages; but in deed that was not strange, for if a dog had bin without doores that night he would have been starved to death."

It was Scudamore's custom to send out "warrants to the constables in the country to send him soe many men every morneing to breake the ice on the mote and river." Birch knowing this, disguised seven foresters as a "constable and his sixe men, gave him his warrant, appointed him his bill, and to them their pickaxes and shovells, bound up for them

very black rie bread and cheese in course table napkins, soe that to see them goe a man would have ventred his life they had bin country labourers indeed." A body was hidden in a hollow without Bister's Gate, and when eight o'clock came and the drawbridge was let down, an entrance was forced, while the mock constable engaged the guard. "And although within the cittie of Hereford was 1,100 townsmen whoe had taken up armes for the king, after halfe an hour's dispute in the street, and the loss of about tenn," the city was taken. Birch sent news of this prize to the Parliament, which immediately made him Governor of Hereford. "A New Tricke to Take Towns," remarks that "the governor thus by policy and force surprised, without remedy, was plundered; neither could the commanders rhetoricke or threats prevaile with the souldier to keep their hands from pillage." The palace was rifled, though it probably escaped more lightly than some other places, as Birch and Colonel Morgan his companion, made it their headquarters. It was here that all the various committee meetings were held, and that in 1647 the soldiers discussed the possibility of disbanding the troops. Birch must have found the palace a pleasant abode, and he certainly appreciated its value, for when the House of Commons had vested the episcopal estates in trustees who were empowered to sell, Birch determined to purchase the palace and the group of manors annexed thereto. Accordingly on February 22, 1649—50 he became the owner of "all that capitall messuage or mancion house with all and singuler the right members the appurtenaunces thereto belonging, situate, lying, and being within or neare unto the citty of Hereford, being commonly called or knowne by the name of the Bishopp of Hereford Pallace together with the seyte groune and circuite," the whole being valued at £11.

"And alsoe the materialls of the said Pallace . . . valued at eight and fortie poundes." The price of the palace, and the manors of Shelwick, Barton, Tupsley, Bishop's Eaton, Bishop's Hampton, and Sugwas was £2,475 12*s.* 5⅛*d.* [*sic*], the purchase being clearly one of those speculations for which Birch had particular talent. A Bristol merchant before the war, he had lent money to the Parliament at eight per cent. interest, and before buying the palace had got into his hands the episcopal manor of Whitborn, which Walker, in 1714, says, was then, "by the sorry compliance of some one who might have prevented it," still held by members of his family. Birch perhaps found the house too large for him, for he is said to have divided it into two parts, and perhaps in this may be found the meaning of Wood's statement that Birch bought but half the palace, the second purchaser being Captain Silas Taylor. At the Restoration he had, of course, to leave, but he made a bid for compensation, and when rumour put forward Baxter as a possible successor to the see Birch tried to persuade him to accept it "because," as Baxter put it, "he thought to make a better bargain with me than with another."

The palace does not seem to have been much altered until the episcopate of Philip Bisse who was translated from St. David's in February 1712—13. A notably handsome man, he was a favourite at Court, and he found the palace at once old fashioned and inconvenient. He accordingly divided the great hall into five compartments corresponding with the bays, and either pulled down or refaced the walls with red-brick, inserting the long narrow windows then the rage. He is said to have used two windows from the chapter-house in his repairs; but he had so little sympathy with Gothic architecture that it is difficult to see where he employed them.

PHILIP BISSE, BISHOP OF HEREFORD.
From an engraving in the British Museum.

Brown Willis, in his "History of the Cathedral," says that Bisse spent nearly £3,000 on the work. In 1721 Bisse died "most universally lamented, being . . . a great benefactor to his cathedral church and especially to his palace, which last he in a manner rebuilt." He was succeeded by Benjamin Hoadley, whose "Measure of Obedience" had created a great sensation; and on his death, the see was given to Henry Egerton, fifth son of the third Earl of Bridgewater. He found the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene in disrepair, and in 1739 he obtained a commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury to report on its state. The commissioners—the dean, two canons, one of the principal tenants of the fee, the steward, and a joiner—considered it ruinous and useless, as Duncomb relates in his "History of Herefordshire." The bishop ordered destruction—to save the £20 needed for repairs, every one said—and great was the delight when £50 was spent in taking down a third of the building, so firm was the cement. The work was stopped, but, in spite of a protest from the Society of Antiquaries, resumed amid the gibes of the papers, such as the one quoted by Duncomb, which said that it was done "in order to erect a more polite and neat pile, in the present taste, for the public service, in which it is expected the generosity of the noble and reverend prelate of that see (as in the rest of his life) will be most conspicuous." This part of the work was, however, left to be done by Bishop John Butler, in 1798. The present chapel is a very small building at the extreme north-east corner of the ancient hall, and is designated as "neat" by the county historian. It has been much improved during the episcopacy of the present bishop, who has added frescoes and a screen of good design, though the most noteworthy object is still the fine Jacobean chair of the bishop.

The next considerable change was made in 1846 when Thomas Musgrave, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, took down the most southerly bay of the hall and erected across it the red-brick wing which still looks so new against the rest of the buildings. This greatly increased the comfort of the house, and especially provided more bedrooms, which had been rather lacking hitherto. He did not attempt any restoration: that he left to his successor, Renn Dickson Hampden, the nominee of Lord John Russell in 1847. His election was strenuously opposed by a section, which held that his Bampton Lectures on the "Scholastic Philosophy" were unorthodox; but happily for the diocese, Hampden came to Hereford. Energetic in his diocese he also set to work on the palace, laid down the pavement in the hall, inserted the portrait of his ancestor, John Hampden, over the mantle-piece there, and, above all, restored the ancient porch—the only bit of the original stonework left. The work was carried further by his successor, James Atlay (1868—95), to whom the hall owes its present neo-classical ceiling and decoration that is in such strange contrast to its history.

Heavily as time has laid its hands on the palace, altering, replacing, creating, it has not hurt its calm. In the garden, where traces of old buildings linger in the walls and where the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene still shows, the doves now flutter, flying up between their cote and the cathedral, which stands just behind, and so close that the painted windows glow and the organ sounds clearly. No longer dreaded for its prison, or hated for its feudal rights, the palace now more than ever before speaks of all that goes to the furthering of the interests of the people and the Church.

The Palace of Wells

IF a traveller from Bath had reached the brow of the hill where the wide valley of Wells and Glastonbury suddenly opens at his feet, and looked down on the buildings lying beneath him, he would have seen, in the year 1206, the unfinished cathedral, and beside it a house used by the Bishops of Bath when they visited Wells.

No towers, no west front, no chapels, cloisters, chapter-house, Vicars' Close or palace were yet standing, and the waters of St. Andrew's Well, which now fill the palace moat, were flowing in their natural channel. Of the house which was the predecessor to the bishop's palace little is known. John of Tours, Bishop of Bath (1088—1122), had built himself a new house in Wells on the site of a refectory, dormitory, and cloister which he had pulled down. The Wells house was, according to Mr. Edmund Buckle, only a manor-house, for John of Tours and all his successors until the thirteenth century lived at Bath. Bishop Savaric was styled Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury. This remained the official title until 1220, when Jocelin dropped that of Glastonbury, and henceforward styled himself Bishop of Bath, and this in spite of the fact that the Wells Chapter had equal rights with that of Bath in the episcopal elections. It was not until the time of Bishop Jocelin that Wells became the home of the bishops of the see.

The year 1206, the first of Jocelin's episcopate and the

seventh of the reign of King John, was a significant date in the history of Wells. Unlike his predecessors the new bishop, Jocelin, was a native of Wells. His father had lands at Lancherley, about two miles south-west of the city, where he and his brother, Hugh, were brought up. As chaplain and canon Jocelin spent his youth there, "rising," as Canon Church relates, "through all gradations of ecclesiastical office to the bishop's throne in the church of his home." He set himself to raise the status of his native city, and to strengthen his hand against Glastonbury and Bath. One of his first works was to choose a site and prepare grounds for a house calculated to enhance his dignity. In 1207 he obtained King John's licence to enclose a park on the south side of Wells, and he was stocking his park with wild deer from the forests of Cheddar and Selwood at the same time that he was building the west front of the cathedral. His works were interrupted by political troubles in the kingdom. Jocelin was one of the bishops to publish the interdict of Pope Innocent III., and was banished by King John, spending about five years in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux and Castille. His companions in exile were his brother, Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, and Elias de Derham, the famous architect of Salisbury Cathedral, whom Matthew Paris describes as one of the "incomparable artificers" of the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. The three men are thought to have co-operated in plans for the new buildings at Wells. In after years Elias de Derham became Jocelin's seneschal or steward in Wells, and may have assisted him as architect.

Jocelin returned to England when the king was nominally reconciled with the bishops in 1213, and stood by the side of Archbishop Stephen Langton at Runnymede when John was

forced to sign the Great Charter. It was Jocelin who administered the oath at the coronation of Henry III. at Gloucester, the new king being then ten years old. This was an extension of privilege, for it is properly the function of the Archbishop of Canterbury to administer the coronation oath. The Bishop of Bath and Wells has the right to walk by the king's side, under his canopy of state in the coronation procession in Westminster Abbey, the Bishop of Durham supporting the king on the other side.[1]

The latter part of Jocelin's episcopate he spent at Wells, devoting himself to building the cathedral and palace, and organizing the work of the cathedral clergy. The portions of the present palace ascribed to Jocelin by Mr. Edmund Buckle are "the vaulted halls of entrance and reception on the ground floor, now called the undercroft and used as a dining-room on state occasions, and on the first floor the gallery and great chamber, solar, and oratory, which form the central block of the present building." Part of the manor-house, still to be seen, at Wookey, was also his work. Jocelin died in 1242, "full of days," says Matthew Paris, "and commendable in life and character." He was buried before the high altar of the cathedral, under a marble tomb which he had erected during his lifetime. The place of his burial had been carefully planned beforehand. Jocelin was the first bishop of this see to be buried in Wells Cathedral. This was a bold infringement of the privileges claimed by the monks of Bath, their abbey having been for the last 150 years the burial-place of the bishops. The Wells canons

[1] This was the order observed at the coronation of King Edward VII., the Bishop of Bath and Wells being on his left hand and the Bishop of Durham on his right. The custom was broken at the coronations of Henry VII., of William and Mary, and Anne.

expected opposition from the Bath Chapter, and accordingly gave no notification of Jocelin's death until after the burial. But while they were rejoicing in possessing for the first time the tomb of a bishop, their enemies, the monks of Bath, determined to forestall them in the choice of a candidate for the vacant see, and hastily sent a deputation to Henry III. to obtain licence for themselves alone to elect a new bishop without the co-operation of the Wells Chapter. This was the beginning of the last long strife between the two chapters; but Jocelin had secured to his native town the pre-eminence he had given it in his lifetime. He had obtained permission from Pope Honorius III. to add Wells to his style; but although he never signed himself "Bishop of Bath and Wells," his successor, Roger, was able to adopt the new style within four months after his accession in 1244, Pope Innocent IV. sanctioning the change and assuring to Wells equal rights in all respects with Bath.

Henceforward the palace of Wells was the home of Jocelin's successors in this see.

Robert, Lord of Acton Burnell in Shropshire, the great lawyer and chancellor of Edward I., was the next bishop to add to Jocelin's palace. He had obtained vast wealth during his political career, providing his friends and relatives with lands, and himself possessing estates in nineteen counties. When the king and his consort, Eleanor, were being entertained, in 1277, by the monks of Glastonbury, doubtless Bishop Burnell was inspired to add to his own house a hall capacious and magnificent enough to grace a royal court. Canon Church writes: "At the end of the thirteenth century Burnell raised on the south side of Jocelin's building a stately banqueting hall—of which the four towers, the northern side, and the chapel remain still witnessing to the magnificence of

the builder." Burnell's chapel is still used as a bishop's private chapel, but the hall has stood in ruins since the Reformation. This was the hall where the Court of Edward III. and Queen Philippa were to hold their revels some fifty years later; where the Bishops of Wells were to rule in state, and where the trial of the last Abbot of Glastonbury was to be the prelude to the destruction wreaked upon it at the Reformation. Burnell was a worldly prelate, too much involved in State affairs to be resident long at Wells. He was warden of the Welsh marches, comrade of the king in Gascony and in the Scottish wars, and died in 1292 at Berwick-upon-Tweed. But though little resident he had encouraged progress in his cathedral city—by his riches, by the grant of indulgences in return for work upon the fabric of the cathedral, by the gift of four advowsons to the chapter, and, above all, by the erection of the great hall of the palace.

Forty years after the death of Robert Burnell, Wells Palace was honoured by a royal visit. In 1332—3, Edward III. with his young wife, Philippa of Hainault, a bride of three years' standing, and then aged nineteen, were the guests of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury, holding their Court in his palace between Christmas and Epiphany. The chronicles of the reign tell of a "wonderful and sumptuous" outlay on the occasion, when the palace must have been the scene of banquets and tournaments. King Edward was then aged twenty-two, and comely, says a contemporary chronicler, "his face like the face of a god, wherefrom so marvellous grace shone forth that whosoever openly considered his countenance or dreamed thereof by night conceived a sure hope of pleasant solace and good fortune that day." The young queen was "tall and straight, wise, gladsome, free-handed, and courteous." No doubt they brought their

hawks and their hounds with them to Wells, and a rich display of jewels and silken robes stiff with gold; and had Froissart been present at those Christmas festivities we might have had a tale of revels such as Edward had led at Windsor, clad in white and silver, wearing broidery with his motto:—

"Hay, hay, the whitĕ swan!
By Goddës soul I am thy man!"

Some idea of the ceremonies of that time is given by the contemporary description of a tournament which took place in the streets of London in the September preceding the Christmas spent at Wells. "The king and other knights appeared riding, masked as Tartars, and each knight had on his right hand one lady, leading her by a silver chain. The ladies were dressed in tunics of red velvet, with hoods of white camel's hair. More than sixty armed men in uniform preceded, and there followed horsemen richly caparisoned; thus they passed with trumpets and many kinds of instruments." On the following day there was a tournament, sixteen knights defending a mock fortress from attack. Very possibly similar dresses and pageantry figured in the festivities at Wells: "*Ubi fiebant multa mirabilia sumptuosa.*"

No explanation of the purpose of the royal visit has been given save that suggested by Canon Church, that the fame of the new chapter-house, with its noble ascent of stairs, and of the other great buildings in Wells, might have attracted them thither. Edward's love of building is well known. Some years later, in 1344, he had the Round Tower built at Windsor, with such speed that it was finished in ten months, hundreds of labourers being pressed into the work. The young king's interest in architecture must have been stimulated by his visit to Wells, and by converse with his host, Bishop Ralph.

Queen Philippa's memory was long revered by the clergy there. Nearly forty years later a new Mass was instituted to be said daily for her soul, the performance of this Mass being imposed by Bishop John Harewell (1366—86) on the canons of Staverdale. For every omission they were bound to pay yearly, on St. Andrew's Day, 20*s.* to the bishop's alms, 3*s.* 4*d.* to the bishop in his palace at Wells, and 3*s.* 4*d.* to the dean and chapter in the cathedral.

The entertainment of these popular sovereigns, in the fresh bloom of their youth and gaiety, must have added prestige to the Wells Palace, and have left a brilliant picture in the minds of the inhabitants of the quiet city.

Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury (1329—63), the third of the chief builders of the palace of Wells, obtained from his late guest, Edward III., a licence to embattle and fortify it. The grant made in March, 1340—1, gave licence "For the glory of God, the honour of the cathedral church of Wells, and the saints whose bodies repose therein, and the security and quiet of the canons and ministers resident there, for Ralph, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to build a wall round the churchyard and the precinct of the houses of himself and of the canons, and to crenellate and make towers in such wall. He is to make doors and posterns in the wall where necessary, and to cause any streets enclosed to be diverted in such manner as shall be most to public convenience; and the doors and posterns to be open for thoroughfare from dawn to night."

Before Bishop Ralph's time, the waters of St. Andrew's fountain had flowed in their natural channel. He now diverted them to form a moat round the area of the palace and the palace courts; and on the embankment within the moat were raised crenellated walls with bastions at the

angles, and an entrance gate-house, defended by portcullis and drawbridge. The slits for the portcullis and the chains of the drawbridge are still to be seen. In one of these bastions was a prison for criminous clerks, subsequently known as the Cow-house and the Stock-house. The keeper of the bishop's park had the duty of watching the prison. The bishop's palace was now his castle, which he could defend if need were, against turbulent burghers. The townspeople of Wells were generally on good terms with their mesne lord, the bishop, to whom they paid rents, and who received the chattels of condemned persons and fugitives; but a spirit of independence was growing in the fourteenth century. The citizens were irritated by the revocation of a charter which they had just purchased. It had contained a clause exempting them from all labour upon castles, houses, walls, ditches, and other public works; and Canon Church suggests that enforced labour on the fortification of the palace had produced friction between the bishop and the citizens. A riot broke out in 1342—3, the citizens resisting the levy of tolls by the bishop's officers. Some of the bishop's men were taken and kept in prison until, under compulsion, they promised to pay certain sums of money. The king sent commissioners to inquire into the trouble, and the bishop's rights were upheld by the judgment of the court, his damages being assessed at £3,000, but it does not appear whether the bishop ever received this enormous fine.

Within the palace, life was organized and ceremonious. The janitor, or door-keeper, was at this time an important personage, installed in his office with much circumstance. In 1330 six burgesses of Wells stood surety for a new janitor, Roger of Ashbury, their fellow-burgess, that he would faithfully serve the bishop in that office. There was also a keeper

of the palace, whose duty it was "to discover, correct, and punish any excesses, crimes, or faults whatsoever within the palace or court, the punishment of which belonged to the bishop by right." In his palace-chapel Bishop Ralph instituted officials and clergy and received oaths of allegiance. On one occasion a certain "Robert atte Boxe" came into his chapel, and, in the presence of the bishop and two of his officials, made oath never to aid or favour John de Actone, knight, who was the bishop's enemy, but rather to disclose and hinder any attempts to the bishop's harm. Another record depicts Bishop Ralph as solemnly seated in the hall of his palace when there were admitted to his presence the dean, the precentor, and eight other canons, who presented him with a request to attend the next chapter, couched in a stiff and monitory tone. Conflicts between the dean and chapter and the bishop had continued from the time of Bishop Drokensford, Ralph s predecessor, when the fame of Dean Godelee had eclipsed the bishop's importance, and this scene marks the strained relations between the bishop and the chapter-house.

It was the custom of the vicars to bring offerings in person into the presence of the bishop seated in his hall, and he would graciously receive such gifts, as, for instance, "two loaves, two pigs, and two bottles of mead," and order them to be distributed among the poor. Bishop Ralph spent his life and energies in his own diocese, and lived to a great age. His long and detailed register attests his activity there. During the scourge of the Black Death, which carried off numbers of his clergy, he remained at his post providing for the spiritual needs of the sufferers. He issued a letter allowing a layman or a woman to hear the confessions of the dying and admitting such confession to be efficacious. A

hundred years after his death his obit was still being observed at his tomb in the cathedral, for in 1461, in the accounts of the vicars of the cathedral, an entry appears for the use of wax upon the obit of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury. He was a special benefactor of the vicars-choral, whose houses he had first planned and built in the famous Vicars' Close. In the hall of the Vicars' Close is a painting representing Bishop Ralph sitting on his throne, the vicars kneeling before him. His marble effigy is in the north choir aisle of the cathedral. "He lies vested in his episcopal ornaments, the mitre, gloves, maniple, the apparel round the neck, and the vexillum round the crozier."

The interior of the palace at the end of the fourteenth century was not bare and comfortless. The walls were covered with tapestry, the backs of the chairs of state were cushioned and covered with fine embroidery, each chamber had a different suit of hangings, and the seats were supplied with feather cushions. Two beds are particularly named in the will of Bishop Erghum, proved in 1400, which supplies these details as to furniture: "a green bed with white lilies, and a red bed with the curtains and sheets and all apparel." Such beds cost vast sums in those days. In 1369, on Queen Philippa's death, a sum worth £1,000 of our money was paid for her bed, and entries in the royal accounts show that the king paid £3,000 of modern money for the queen's bed of green velvet, embroidered in gold, with red sirens bearing a shield with the arms of England and Hainault. If the furnishing of the Wells Palace was on a similar, though possibly less sumptuous, scale, the value of the fittings must have been immense. Silver "charjours," bowls, salt-cellars, and spice-plates, finely chased, are enumerated in Bishop Erghum's will; and a certain piece of tapestry, with the image

of St. John, he bequeathed to the cathedral "to be placed under the feet of the bishop when he celebrates there." Such were the rich appointments of the palace in the year 1400; and sumptuous banquets were given in the great hall of Robert Burnell in the years 1424—5.

A happy chance has preserved a verbatim account of two fifteenth-century banquets served in the hall of the bishop's palace, of which Dr. F. A. Gasquet has given in substance the following description:—

A famous cook of unknown name collected in his note-book a set of menus and a brief note of the occasion upon which the banquet described was served up. This note-book has survived till the present day, and is to be seen in the MSS. Room of the British Museum (Harl. MS. 279).

One banquet took place at the funeral of Bishop Bubwith, and the other at the installation of his successor, Bishop John Stafford.

The date of the first dinner was December 4, 1424. On the preceding October 27 Bishop Bubwith had died. Over a month, therefore, had elapsed before the funeral. The ceremony was celebrated with customary pomp. A great concourse of people, distinguished clergy, laymen and their followings, and monks in large numbers assembled at Wells for the occasion. Nicholas Bubwith had been a man of note, Bishop of London and Lord Treasurer of England, and he had taken part after the Council of Constance in the election of Pope Martin V. He was buried in his chantry, still to be seen with its screen of light and elaborate tracery, in the nave of the cathedral, and after the funeral the ecclesiastics repaired to the great hall of the palace, where the dinner described in the menu was served. The season of the Church on this occasion was Advent, and accordingly a

special dinner was provided for the monks, who had at this time to abstain from meat. Before the secular clergy and laymen a first course was set consisting almost wholly of heavy joints of meat and game; there is no mention of vegetables beyond the herbs used for flavouring. The second course consisted chiefly of game, ending with a "payn puffe" or pastry puff, "a colde bakemete" or cold fruit-pie, and "irchouns"—that is, pork prepared with spikes made of almonds to look like a hedgehog.

The second banquet was given nine months later, on September 16, 1425, to celebrate Bishop John Stafford's installation. On this occasion no fast was being observed, and there was no provision for a "*dîner maigre*." Two dinners were, however, prepared—one for the more honoured guests, and the other for those who had seats in the lower part of the hall. Each course concluded with a "sotelte" (subtlety), a confection in sugar and paste, which generally pointed some allusion to the circumstances of the feast. A doctor-of-law, an eagle, and a Saint Andrew figured at this festivity. The lawyer apparently referred to the new bishop's early profession, the eagle was the emblem of St. John, his namesake, and St. Andrew was the patron saint of the church of his new see. The "sotelte of Sent Andrewe" was repeated at another installation feast of the same bishop when he was translated to Canterbury, and is then fully described as "Saint Andrew sitting on his high altar in state with beams of gold. Before him kneeling the bishop in priestly robes, his crosier-bearer kneeling behind him coped."

It is evident that the culinary art was not neglected in the episcopal establishment. The furnishing of the palace kitchen must have been ample to allow of so many as a dozen joints being roasted together. The various dishes of

one course were probably not served up one after another, but various meats and birds were dished up together that every one might make his choice. One can picture the army of serving-men that would be needed to prepare these elaborate feasts. The head cook was a professional, who probably came down from London for both occasions; his services were in great request, his menu-book including the feast of the coronation of King Henry IV. in 1399, royal dinners at Winchester and elsewhere, the installation feast of Bishop John Chandler of Salisbury in 1417, and many other notable banquets.

Only twenty-five years previously, in 1400, a bull had been sent to the Dean and Chapter of Wells by Pope Boniface IX. forbidding the expenditure of vast sums, 150 or 200 marks, on feasting the bishop and the dean and chapter, as had been the custom whenever a new canon came into residence. This feasting had produced disputes and scandal, and was to be altogether abolished. But as this papal mandate did not affect the bishops, the banquets in the episcopal palace were not discontinued.

The last great mediæval Bishop of Wells who ruled in the palace, to which he put the finishing touches, was Thomas of Bekynton. Born at Beckington, in Somersetshire, from which village he took his name, a boy at Winchester, a scholar and fellow of New College, Oxford, and then Canon of Wells, he rose partly under William of Wykeham's influence to high authority. He was secretary and reader to the young King Henry VI., a copy of his official Letters being still preserved in a beautiful volume in Lambeth Palace Library (published by G. Williams in the Rolls Series). Before his appointment to the bishopric he served on a delicate diplomatic mission to the Count of Armagnac, to

negotiate a marriage between Henry VI. and one of the count's daughters whose likenesses he was first to obtain and submit to the king. In 1443 he was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells in the old church of the newly founded College of Eton, and held his inaugural banquet within the new college buildings. He was deeply interested in the foundation of Eton College, which he advised Henry VI. to model on Wykeham's School at Winchester.

He was a magnificent prelate, and spent no less than 6,000 marks in building and in repairing different houses belonging to the bishopric. The prevalence of his rebus, "a flaming beacon and a tun," about Wells, attests his work as a builder. Shields bearing his arms were discovered during the restoration of the palace, and were built into the walls of the undercroft and the ground-floor gallery in the time of Bishop Hervey; his arms are also to be seen on the chimneys of the Vicars' Close and on the outer gate-house forming the entrance to the park from the market-place, now called the Bishop's Eye. Mr. Edmund Buckle writes: "On the north side of the great hall Bekynton made a place of trees, and he added to the palace itself a cloister, a parlour, and guest-chambers, together with a very large kitchen, at the great cost of over £1,000, with conduits of water to the kitchen, buttery, cellar, bake-house, and tanks for breeding fish." He was an eminently practical man, providing not only for his own household, but for the larger community outside his palace. His best remembered act is his gift to the citizens of Wells of a bountiful supply of water from the great spring called St. Andrew's Well, within the palace precincts. He allowed the burgesses to build, at his expense, a head for a water-conduit upon a spot chosen by himself in his garden near the well, and to carry thence, at their expense, pipes leading the water

on the one side to the city as far as the high cross in the market-place, and on the other side to various parts of the palace. The details of the transaction were exact and complete, provision being made for the need of emptying, cleaning, and refilling the palace moat, and for inspecting and cleaning the well-head, which was to have one door and two keys, the bishop keeping the one and the burgesses the other. In return for this favour the " master and burgesses " of Wells undertook for themselves and their successors to visit once a year the place where the bishop was to be buried in the cathedral, and to offer prayers for his soul. Finally he added a spiritual to this temporal benefit, " trusting in the mercy of God and the merits of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, his patrons, he granted forty days' indulgence for every such visit."

From the pen of Thomas Chaundler, a younger contemporary of Bishop Bekynton, Chancellor of Wells in 1452, and in 1461 Chancellor of Oxford, there is a glowing account of the palace at this time, written in Latin, in the form of a dialogue. An Oxford visitor approaching Wells calls it a village, and his guide answers: " You should call it rather a city could you see all the beauty and neatness that is within it. That most beautiful church which we discern at a distance contains the episcopal chair of a munificent prelate. It has also adjoining to it an extensive palace adorned with wonderful splendour, surrounded with flowing waters, bulwarked by its circlet of battlemented walls and towers, in which dwells the most dignified and learned bishop, Thomas, the first of that name. That the clergy here are religious in their manners, honest in their lives, noble in hospitality, affable and agreeable to strangers, and to all benevolent, you will first discover from observation and then learn from experience, for they are accustomed to wait

on strangers and travellers with every office of humanity, and they seem to contend who shall first invite anyone and prevail on him to partake of their hospitality. Is not this city rightly called Wells, where fountains gush out on every side, which both make and beautify the city?"

In a letter from Chaundler to Bekynton, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, there is a drawing of a chamber in the palace. The floor is represented as tiled in dark and light squares, and the wall covered with painting of flowers, leaves, and conventional designs. Bishop Bekynton is seated on a throne under a canopy with a jewelled mitre suspended over his head, which is covered with a skull-cap. His right hand is raised in the act of blessing. On his right stands his chaplain with the crosier in his left hand and a book or bag in his right, and kneeling before the bishop is the author, Chaundler, in the act of presenting a book to his patron. The bishop's face is stern and serious and has the lines of age. Chaundler has a younger and rounder face. It is thought that the three heads are portraits—that of Bekynton bearing a resemblance to the effigy on his tomb.

His monument is in the south choir aisle of the cathedral, and was ready prepared and consecrated by himself thirteen years before his death. In an early morning of January, 1452, a vast congregation assembled in the cathedral to witness the bishop vested in the robes in which he desired to be buried, consecrating his own tomb. The Rev. P. Dearmer has described this monument: "A carved skeleton corpse lies in gorgeous vestments beneath the portrait effigy resting on the upper slab. The carving of the arcade supporting this slab is very beautiful, delicately wrought wings of angels spreading over the arches so as to fill the spandrels. Traces of colour are strongly marked on the

tomb and on the canopy from which it has been divided. The latter was dragged from its place, when the chapel was restored, and set up in St. Calixtus' Chapel, where it is still to be seen." In 1465, thirteen years after the consecration of his tomb, Bishop Bekynton died, aged about seventy-five years.

The bequests in his will were magnanimous and princely. Among great legacies to his own cathedral, to Bath, to New College, Oxford, and the foundation of annual scholarships to Oxford for ten priests of his diocese, the poor of his own household were not forgotten. He made special mention of the boys who served in his private chapel within the palace. "I bequeath to ten poor scholars, not having a sufficient exhibition in the University of Oxford, to be selected from my diocese, 10*d.* each weekly. And I will that in this bequest the poor boys of my chapel, who are now there or who will be at the time of my death, of whatever diocese they may be, be preferred before others for this exhibition." He left £100 to his successor for the dilapidations of the palace, although, as he remarks, he had received nothing from his predecessor, Bishop Stafford. He expressed in his will his anger at the latter's neglect. "Stafford," he said, "had received 1,600 marks for dilapidations from Bishop Nicholas Bubwith of good memory, and yet laid out nothing in repairs during his whole time, which was eighteen years. Timber there was cut down for repairs, but sold, and the money put to his private use." There is mention in Bekynton's will of "my great and precious Bible, written in four volumes, which I will shall be chained in the library of Winchester College [*i.e.*, New College], Oxford, for the use of those wishing to study in the same." Bishop Bekynton's Bible is still a possession of New College. To

Winchester Cathedral he left his large silver pomander—a vessel like an apple, to be filled with warm water, for the priest to warm his fingers during excessive cold to prevent accidents in handling the chalice. From the opening sentence—"I will that my funeral expenses shall be moderate, that they shall be rather in the recreation and relief of the poor than in the solace of the rich and powerful"—to the end of the lengthy testament there breathes the spirit of the practical administrator and the large-hearted but prudent man of business.

The palace had now reached its zenith, and the story of its decline begins with the death of Bekynton. A series of statesmen-bishops followed in close succession, who neglected the palace, preferring to live in king's Courts. Bishops Stillington, Fox, and King ceased to make the Wells Palace their home; Hadrian de Castello (1504—18) resided at Rome, and never visited England after his translation to the see of Wells. Cardinal Wolsey followed (from 1518—1523), holding in his own person the Archbishopric of York and the Bishopric of Bath and Wells.

Only two events concerning the palace are known to have occurred during this period.

During the Wars of the Roses there was a moment, between Michaelmas, 1469—1470, when two hostile parties passed through Wells, possibly meeting there during a truce. Canon Church has discovered an entry in the account-roll of the escheator of the church of Wells for that year, from which it appears that King Edward IV. had made an offering there of 10s., the Duke of Clarence, Lady Isabel, Duchess of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick had each given 5s., either towards the fabric fund or at the shrine of Our Lady. Bishop Stillington, then lord privy seal, and the king's

private agent, would have ordered the gates of Wells to be opened to Edward. Canon Church suggests that the king and his retinue were lodged at the palace while the Earl of Warwick was at the deanery, but little light has been thrown on this incident.

The palace had fallen into disrepair by the year 1497, the third of Bishop King's episcopate. Oliver King (1495—1503) Secretary of State to Henry VII., had been appointed to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells for three years before he thought of visiting Wells. In the autumn of 1497 he journeyed westward from London with King Henry VII. and 30,000 armed men, bent upon subduing Perkin Warbeck's rebellion—Warbeck had landed at Whitesand Bay, Cornwall, and passed with 3,000 followers to Taunton. The king was to pass through Wells on his way to Taunton, and the bishop hurried forward to be beforehand at Wells, where he had not yet been installed as bishop. Until the installation had taken place he had no right to enter the Cathedral choir or to sit in the episcopal seat. On his arrival he was enthroned as bishop a few hours before he in that capacity took part in the reception of the king. He evidently found the palace unfit for the entertainment of royalty, and accordingly Henry, when he arrived on September 29, was lodged at the deanery as the guest of Dean Gunthorp. In the meanwhile Warbeck fled from his army and took sanctuary in the Abbey of Beaulieu in the New Forest. He was brought back to Taunton whither the king had moved. Bishop King did not remain at Wells after the public reception of Henry VII., but relegated his episcopal functions to a suffragan, Thomas Cornish, Chancellor of Wells. His interests were rather at Bath than Wells. About 1500 he rebuilt Bath Abbey, prompted, it is said, by a vision of

Jacob's ladder. The vision may still be seen carved on the west front of Bath Abbey. No bishop bestowed further care on the palace until Bishop John Clerk (1523—41) added the two oriel windows on the north front overlooking the moat.

Leland visited the palace between the years 1540—2 and wrote the following description of it :—

"The area afore the Bishop's Palace lyith Est of the Market stede, and hath a fair high Waul toward the Market stede, and a right goodly Gate House yn it, made of late by Bishop Bekingtun as it apperith by his armes. On the south side of this Area is the Bishop's Palace, dichid brodely and watered about by the Water of S. Andres Streame let into it. This Palace ys strongely waullid and embateld Castelle lyke, and hath in the first Front a godly Gate House yn the midle, and at eche ende of the Front a round Towr, and 2 other rounde Towers be lykelyhood yn the South side of the Palace, and then is ther one at every corner. The Haul of the Palace ys exceeding fayre."

Only fifteen years later this fair hall was reduced to ruins. It was during Bishop Clerk's episcopate, though he himself took no known part in the matter, that a tragic scene took place in the great hall, which was probably the last public event within its walls.

Tradition has it that the trial of Richard Whiting, last Abbot of Glastonbury was held in the great hall of the Wells Palace. The letters of Henry VIII.'s agents concerning the trial and execution prove that the abbot was in Wells on November 14, 1539, the eve of his execution, and that his judges were residing in Wells, but the exact place of the trial is not named. The ruined hall of Bishop Burnell is, however, accepted as the scene of the trial by Dr. F. A. Gasquet, the abbot's biographer. His "Last Abbot of Glastonbury"

has fully pictured the cruel tragedy with all the circumstances which led up to it.

Richard Whiting was trained as a boy in the monastic school at Glastonbury and sent to Cambridge to complete his education, his name appearing among those who took their M.A. degree in 1483. For many years he held the office of Chamberlain at Glastonbury, a position of responsibility in such a vast establishment with its numerous officials. In 1525 he was appointed abbot by Cardinal Wolsey's selection. The new abbot was described in the cardinal's letter as "an upright and religious monk, a provident and discreet man, and a priest commendable for his life, virtues, and learning. He had shown himself watchful and circumspect in both spirituals and temporals, and had proved that he possessed ability and determination to uphold the rights of his monastery." Among the men who bore witness to the abbot's high character was a monk who had been at Glastonbury for nineteen years, and who declared that during all that time Richard Whiting had been reputed a man of exemplary piety. Thus he was raised to a distinguished place among the peers of the realm, and, as the head of the richest abbey in England, Westminster alone excepted, he became an obstacle to Henry VIII. and the object of his attacks.

"The King and his council," said the then Abbot of Colchester, "were drawn into such inordinate covetousness that if all the water in the Thames were flowing gold and silver, it were not able to slake their covetousness." The revenues of Glastonbury Abbey afforded a tempting prey. No charge of laxity in morals or discipline could, however, be brought against the abbey under Whiting's rule. During his abbacy some three or four hundred youths of gentle birth

were trained there, the poor flocked to his gate and found regular relief every Wednesday and Friday in the week, and he showed hospitality to the poorest as to the most distinguished visitors.

On August 21, 1535, the attack upon Glastonbury began. Dr. Richard Layton, one of the most unscrupulous of the royal inquisitors, was sent to pry upon the abbey, but for all his scrutiny he could not report one notable offence. This did not exempt the abbot from royal depredations. Manors, livings, and annuities for the king's servants were demanded from him and granted perforce. In the meanwhile the suppression of the monasteries continued. By 1539 Glastonbury was the only religious house left standing in Somersetshire. In the autumn of that year, when the venerable abbot must have been about 76 years old, final steps were taken against him. Three royal commissioners, Layton, Pollard, and Moyle, unexpectedly arrived at Glastonbury about ten o'clock in the morning. The abbot was away at his grange of Sharpham, about a mile from the monastery. They found him there, took him back to the abbey and proceeded to search his papers and ransack his apartments. The only incriminating evidence they could find was a book written against the divorce of Henry VIII. and Katherine of Aragon. They submitted the old man to a severe interrogatory to make him "show a traitorous mind againt the King's Majesty." Then they brought him, "being but a very weak man and sickly, with as fair words as they could" to London, and imprisoned him in the Tower, so that Cromwell might examine him for himself. It was discovered that the abbot had hidden a fair chalice of gold and other parcels of plate, and that he had sent away money and plate for safety to the country. His fate was sealed before he left the Tower, after

two months' imprisonment. Henry VIII. and Cromwell determined that he should die a traitor's death at Glastonbury in the sight of his own people, on a charge of robbing his own abbey.

Lord John Russell, the king's agent, was ordered to prepare for a mock trial at Wells. He collected witnesses and a jury whom he could trust to carry out the royal will, assuring Cromwell that he had gathered "as worshipful a jury as was charged here these many years." Pollard escorted Whiting from the Tower to Wells, protesting that he "was appointed to bear him company for worship's sake, and therefore might not forsake him till he did see him safe at Glastonbury." At Wells a great throng awaited his arrival, and the trial was begun without giving the condemned man time for rest. New accusers stepped out from the crowd, his tenants and others, alleging wrongs he had done them. He was associated and sentenced with a number of common felons accused of rape and burglary. Pollard pestered him to confess the hiding-places of more treasures belonging to Glastonbury, "but he would accuse none but himself, and confessed no more gold and silver than he did before Cromwell in the Tower." The next morning, Saturday, November 15, 1539, the abbot and two of his monks, John Thorne and Roger James, were taken to Glastonbury. At the entrance to the town the abbot was made to dismount, his limbs were stretched upon a hurdle, and he was dragged by a horse through the streets of Glastonbury and up to the gallows on Tor Hill. Lord John Russell wrote callously the next day to Cromwell: "The abbot was beheaded and quartered—one quarter stands at Wells, another at Bath, the rest at Ilchester and Bridgwater, and his head upon the abbey gate at Glastonbury." Pollard wrote: "He took his death

patiently, asking pardon of God and the king for his offences, and desiring my servants to ask me and my lord president to mediate with the king for his forgiveness"; and closing his letter with the pith of the business: "It will be near Christmas before I have surveyed the lands of Glastonbury and taken the audit."

The Bishops of Bath and Wells were more complacent than the venerable abbot. In the very year 1539, when the king's desires were consummated with regard to Glastonbury, the process of spoliation began also at Wells. In March, 1539, a demand came from Cromwell, then non-resident Dean of Wells, that the chapter should send him an inventory of their jewels and plate. A humble petition accompanied the canons' answer, begging Cromwell "to be a mediator to the king if he thinks any of it may remain to the honour of God and the necessary use of the Church."

Five years later it was the bishop's turn to disburse. "Upon information of the Bishop of Bath's great substance" Henry VIII. desired a loan of £3,000. Bishop Knight denied that he had any such store, but confessed to having "£1,000 in angels, £200 or £330 more in ready money, and plate to as much value as all the money." He sent 1,000 marks' worth of plate and coin, begging the king to accept it as his "free and poor gift," and was "inwardly sorry not to be able to satisfy his Majesty's expectation fully." Not only money, but goods and chattels, lead and bells passed into the royal exchequer from Bishop Knight at Wells and from the Bishop of St. Asaph's and St. David's. The latter was William Barlow, who was to be Knight's successor in the see of Bath and Wells. To his name the odium is attached of having sold the estates of the see and the palace of the bishops. He had caused the lead to be stripped from

the episcopal palace at St. David's, and had preached zealously against pilgrimages, relic and saint worship, thus commending himself to the all-powerful Protector, Somerset. In 1549 he was made Bishop of Bath and Wells to act as the Protector's tool. Within a year of his installation Barlow sold to Somerset the episcopal palace, the manors of Wells and Westbury, and the park at Westbury, in return for a sum of £400 and the mansion called the Dean's House. While the Protector was in possession of the palace, Barlow lodged at the deanery, and caused Dean Goodman, on the pretext of disobedience, to be sent to Fleet Prison. The Duke of Somerset did not enjoy his possessions long. The date of the purchase was December 10, 1550, and within eighteen months he was attainted and beheaded, on January 22, 1552. Wells Palace and estates lapsed to the Crown, but were subsequently granted back to Bishop Barlow in exchange for other property. Barlow then petitioned to be allowed to take down and sell the great hall of the palace. In 1552 King Edward VI. signified his permission that "the bishop, having many fit places within the precinct of the house of Wells to make an hall of and for his hospitality, may (edifying one thereon) take down the great hall now standing and grant the same away, commending unto him for that purpose Sir Henry Gates, upon knowledge had of the bishop's good inclination towards him."

The agent employed by Barlow to demolish the banqueting hall was, however, not Sir Henry Gates, but his brother, Sir John. Godwin, canon of Wells, writing in 1595, states authoritatively that Sir John Gates had destroyed the hall about forty years previously. Gates had been a trusted servant of Henry VIII., and enforced Bishop Ridley's order to remove "superalteries, altars, and such like ceremonies and

abuses." He obtained possession of Wells Palace through the influence of his patron, the Duke of Northumberland, and proceeded to make what profit he could out of the materials of Burnell's Hall. Then the great banqueting-hall was stripped of its timber and of its leaden roof, and the bare walls were left standing open to the sky. The ruins still remain, bearing witness to the ruthless greed of its destroyers. By Barlow's orders the chantry chapel had been pulled down after the suppression of the chantries and left in a ruined heap. Sir John Gates entered into a contract with the bishop and dean and chapter to remove the materials from the ground within four years and three months. But he was implicated in Northumberland's plot to enthrone Lady Jane Grey, and was executed, in 1553, before the time of the contract was complete.

Bishop Barlow, a more prudent time-server, survived. On Mary's accession he attempted to escape from England, leaving Bristol by sea in the boat of one "William, Maryner of Bristowe." The sailor was arrested and committed to Marshalsea, and the fugitive Barlow caught and imprisoned in the Tower. There he made a recantation, and when set at liberty fled to Germany. At Frankfort he was in the company of some foreign Protestant weavers whom he had helped during the Duke of Somerset's supremacy, installing them in Orwell Park at Glastonbury. The accession of Elizabeth brought Barlow back to England, where he ended his days as Bishop of Chichester. Froude describes him as a feeble enthusiast. He had twice recanted in face of danger, and was zealous only in the cause of a powerful patron.

The palace, bereft of its former splendour, was left uncared for until the end of Elizabeth's reign. The beautiful oak staircase dates from about this period, one authority

attributing it to Bishop Gilbert Berkeley (1560—1581), and another to James Montagu (1608—1616). Both primates occupied themselves with the buildings of their diocese.

On Berkeley's death, the see remained vacant for three years, so that Wells Palace must have been considerably in need of repairs when Bishop Godwin was installed in 1584. Again, on the death of Godwin, two years elapsed before the appointment of Bishop John Still. His successor, Bishop Montagu, spent a revenue which came in from the Mendip lead mines in restoring the palace chapel, and with such taste as to call for the admiring words of theWells historian, Godwin, who wrote of it in 1616: "That goodly chapel, the most beautiful I have yet seen in England." Bishop Montagu provided it, too, with organs and other fittings and ornaments, all of which were soon to be destroyed by the Puritans. The story is told of Bishop Montagu that he was one day in Bath walking in the rain, when his companion, Sir John Harington, led him into the abbey, then roofless, under pretence of seeking shelter, thus to impress him with its dire need of repair. And the bishop added to his other works that of restoring the nave of Bath Abbey. It was during his episcopate that Wells was favoured with another royal visit.

Queen Anne of Denmark, the gay lover of masques and entertainments, made a progress in 1613 to Bath, Bristol, and Wells, a journey which cost the royal exchequer £30,000. She spent some weeks taking the waters at Bath for the sake of her health, and passed on to Bristol, where she received so hearty a welcome that on her departure she remarked that she never knew she was a queen till she came to Bristol. Bishop Montagu took part in her reception there, leading her from her coach and conducting her to the

chancel of the Cathedral. He no doubt invited the queen to extend her progress to his own cathedral city. He wrote to the Mayor and Corporation of Wells telling of the queen's intention to visit Wells, and desiring that "a Silver Bole bee given to her Majestie of the price of £20, that the streates bee made handsome, and the towne rid of beggars and rogues."

On August 20, 1613, "the Mayor of Wells and his brethren" awaited the queen "in their scarlet near about Browne's Gate; the rest in black gowns, and the other burgesses in their best apparel." The well-known portrait of this queen in a high-hooped dress, the skirt standing out at half a foot's length from her waist in a complete circle, helps to fill in the picture of this day's doings at Wells. The queen and the notables of her train were invited to dine with Mr. William Bull, the Mayor of Wells, the list of guests including the Earls of Worcester and Tinmouth, Bishop Montagu, Sir Thomas Somerset, the Countess of Derby, the Lady Cary, the Lady Gray, the Lady Windsor, the Lady Hutton, the Lady Walsingham, and four maids of honour. It is likely that some of this company, and perhaps the queen herself, lodged in the bishop's palace, but neither the place of the dinner nor the queen's lodging is recorded.

A pageant was presented before Her Majesty by the masters and wardens of every trade and occupation within the city. "The Hammer-men, the Shermen" or clothworkers, "the Tanners, Chaundlers and Butchers, the Cordyners" or leather-workers, "and Mercers" had prepared five shows to pass in procession before her. The tanners, chandlers, and butchers presented "a carte of olde Virgines; the carte covered with hide and hornes, and the Virgines with their attires made of cow-tayles, and bracelettes for their neckes, of hornes sawed

REVERENDISS. IN CHRISTO PATER ARTHVRVS LAKE OLIM EPISC. BATHON. ET WELLENS. An. Æt. 59. obyt.
Quid cineres querimur, sanctosq; in funere manes?
Quid feretro lacrymas tristia signa damus?
Nondum, ARTHVRE, protest Te mors violare, nec ætas
Sera licet, vitam finiet vlla Tuam.
Namq; ita quem decorant et morum candor, et artes,
Scriptaq; in extremum perpetuanda diem;
Fama vetat TALIS moriatur EPISCOPUS; illi
Longa magis facta est, quam data vita fuit.

ARTHUR LAKE, BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.

From an engraving in the British Museum.

and hanged about their neckes for rich jewelles. Their charriot was drawne by men and boyes in oxe-skines, and calve-skines, and other skines. St. Clement, their saint, rode allsoe with his booke, and his Frier rode allsoe, who dealt almes out of his master's bagge (which he carried verie full of greynes) verie plentifullie." Acteon with his huntsmen brought up the rear.

The tailors presented Herod and Herodias, and the daughter of Herodias, "who daunced for St. John the Baptiste's hedd, and St. John the Baptiste beheaded."

The mercers gave "a morrice daunce of young children, the giant and the giantesse, Kinge Ptolemeus with his Queen and daughter, which was to be devoured of the Dragon; St. George with his Knightes, who slew the Dragon and rescued the Virgin; Diana and her Nymphes, carried in a chariot, who turned Acteon to a harte."

The twice repeated hunting-scene perhaps pointed an allusion to the queen's love of hounds, the dogs with which she was so often painted. She was an ardent patron of such entertainments, and had personally appeared in several masques by Ben Jonson, so that the performers at Wells must have felt themselves under the eye of an expert.

During the latter half of the reign of James I. one of the most saintly bishops of this see, Bishop Arthur Lake (1616—26), occupied the Wells Palace. He raised the spiritual status of life there. In the inner and domestic hall of the palace he used to dine daily with his household of some fifty of his poorer clerks and neighbours, and on every Sunday, like his famous successor, Bishop Ken, he fed twelve poor men from the city at his own table. Accessible to all, "he was to scholars a living library, and to his city an oracle." Before conferring holy orders he examined the candidates personally, and after

ordination watched over the clergy and their families with paternal care. He was firm in maintaining ecclesiastical discipline, never allowing penance to be replaced by a pecuniary fine. At the coronation of Charles I. he occupied the traditionary place of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and walked to Westminster Abbey by the side of the king beneath the canopy of state, Bishop Neile of Durham, supporting King Charles on the other side. He died the following year at the age of fifty-nine, and was buried in the south choir aisle of his own cathedral. There are portraits of Bishop Lake in the Wells Palace and at New College, Oxford, where he had endowed lectureships in Hebrew and mathematics.

Bishop Laud (1626—8) was for two years bishop of this diocese, but he never lived at Wells. As archbishop he made an award concerning dilapidations of the palace. Bishop Piers, finding the palace in disrepair, sued his predecessor, Bishop Walter Curll, who had been translated to Winchester, concerning dilapidations. The archbishop awarded that £160 should be paid by Bishop Curll to Piers for repairs, and that Piers and his successors should be discharged from the liability to repair such parts of Banwell House and of the old stable of Wells as should be adjudged unuseful to the see of Bath and Wells.

Bishop William Piers (1632—70), the friend and supporter of Archbishop Laud, had to meet the tide of the Great Rebellion, and was overwhelmed by it. Piers was in ill-favour with the Puritans. He had encouraged the observance of Church-ales, clerk-ales, and bid-ales, Sunday merry-makings hated by the Sabbatarians. He wrote to Laud in 1633: "The chiefest cause of dislike of these feasts among the preciser sort is because they are kept on Sundays,

which they never call but Sabbath-days, upon which they would have no manner of recreation, neither roast nor sod" [seethed meat]. "Some of the ministers confess that if the people should not have their lawful recreations upon Sundays after evening prayer they would go either to tippling houses, and there talk of matters of Church and State, or else into conventicles." Piers shared in Laud's fall. He was ejected from his diocese, impeached by the Long Parliament, and imprisoned in the Tower, but recovered his liberty and lived on his private estate at Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire, until the Restoration, when he entered once more into his palace in his old age.

The palace suffered much during the Civil War. It was during August, 1642 that skirmishing took place on the hills round Wells and on the high road between Wells and Glastonbury. Royalist forces, under the Marquis of Hertford and Sir Ralph Hopton, had removed from Bath to Wells and there made the bishop's palace their headquarters. On the morning of Friday, August 5, they perceived a large body of men encamped against them on the top of Mendip Hill, above the town. This force had come from Bristol under Sir Francis Popham and Sir Edward Hungerford, and had spent the night in prayer and psalm-singing. They had two pieces of ordnance, which they mounted against the palace, and a few shots were made. "The report of the guns made the Cavaliers bestir themselves. All the foot-soldiers were drawn up in the avenues of Wells, which were immediately barricaded as well as the time would afford. The horse and dragoons and gentlemen volunteers were drawn out of the town towards the enemy and had a skirmish at the foot of the great hill." Two other bands coming up to surround the town, the marquis determined to evacuate it,

and made a feint of withdrawing to Glastonbury, thus drawing off the enemy to secure the high road between Wells and Glastonbury. Suddenly changing front, the marquis's force marched for Sherborne, the cannon being too high on the hill to hurt them. On his departure the mayor and citizens of Wells sent messengers to Chewton to petition that the Parliamentarian soldiers might not be allowed to come down or attempt anything against them; but the victors' ardour could not be restrained. The Mendip men entered the city with unbounded joy, glorying in having vanquished the Papists. They broke the painted glass in the cathedral and overran the palace, seizing and throwing out the wine and the organs, and tearing down the pictures from the walls. A picture representing the Virgin was hoisted on a spear and carried about in contempt and derision.

Wells Palace thus passed into the hands of new masters. There came down from London one Dr. Cornelius Burges, a sturdy leader of the Assembly of Divines, who had served on a Parliamentary committee for treating ecclesiastical questions and had advocated the confiscation of episcopal lands. An ordinance of 1646 ordered that these lands should be sold for the use of the Commonwealth, and Cornelius Burges bought the palace, the deanery, and other ecclesiastical property in Wells. He left his post as preacher of St. Paul's and removed to Wells. He set to work to despoil the palace, removed the timbered ceiling, and stripped the lead off the roof, so that the walls stood bare to the sky, matching the ruin of Burnell's Hall. He sold what materials he could and used the remainder in improving the deanery where he established himself, and proceeded to let the gate-houses as lodgings, it is said, "to some inferior people."

For some years Dr. Burges received a stipend as "preacher in the late Cathedral church of Wells"; but many people walked about in the Cathedral while he was preaching and would not listen. He then kept it closed, and the inhabitants of Wells petitioned Parliament that Dr. Burges should deliver up the keys of the Cathedral, which he kept locked while they wished to repair it. At the Restoration his property was taken from him without compensation. He refused to leave the deanery, but was ejected to make room for Dean Creighton.

Bishop Piers was reinstated in his see. Fines and renewals of leases came in abundantly, providing the means for repairing the damage done to the Cathedral and palace, and the two succeeding bishops, Robert Creighton (1670—2) and Peter Mews (1672—84) also spent sums on the work of restoration.

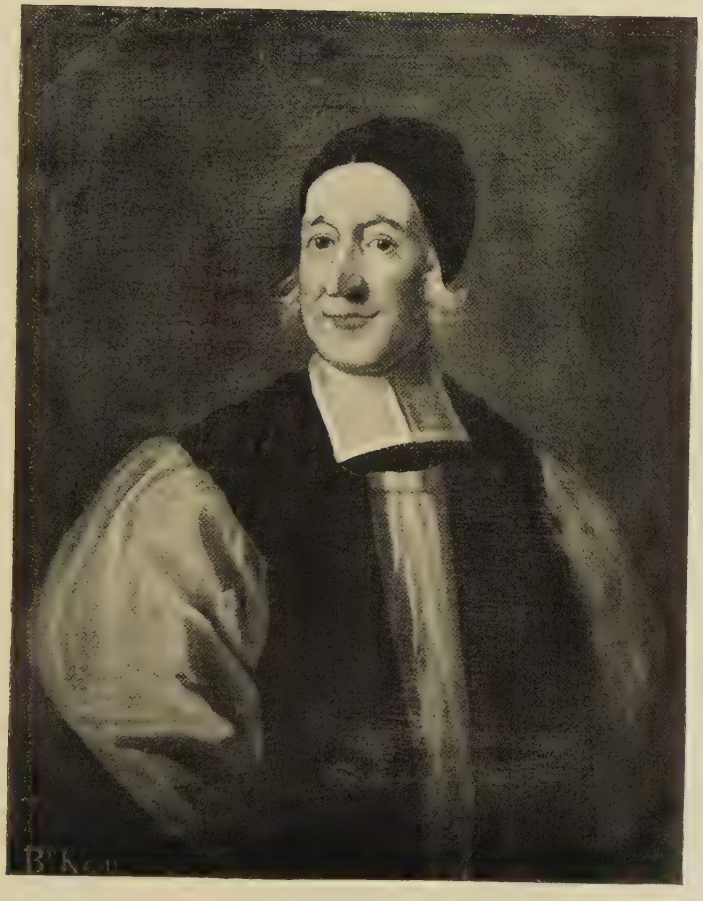
The palace remained unscathed during the Monmouth rebellion, though the rebel force passed and repassed through Wells. On July 1, 1685, the mob of Monmouth's rustic followers invaded and damaged the Cathedral, using it as a stable for their horses, and mutilating the sculptured figures, but apparently left the palace untouched. Two reasons for this immunity have been suggested: either the palace gateways, walls, and moat had served as a defence against an irregular attack, or possibly the new bishop, Ken, had already become loved of his people, and in his absence they may have protected his property. During the Rebellion Bishop Ken was in London, whither he had been summoned in April, 1685, to take part in the coronation of James II., and he had remained there to attend Parliament. His predecessor, an old fighting cavalier, Bishop Mews, who had been translated to Winchester, hastened to Wells, and showed the

gunners how to plant their guns at the battle of Sedgemoor, and on the following Sunday, July 8, when the king's forces were resting at Wells, he preached in the Cathedral at the service of thanksgiving for the victory.

Thomas Ken was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells in the January preceding the Monmouth Rebellion of June, 1685. The most famous of the bishops of this see and one of the renowned "seven" arrested by James II. in 1688, he took a foremost part in the stirring events of English history during the five years of his episcopate.

A scholar and tutor of New College, Oxford, his first step on the road to distinction was his appointment as chaplain to Mary, the king's sister, wife of William II., Prince of Orange. While at the Hague Court he dared to remonstrate with the prince for his unkind behaviour to his wife, and on another occasion incurred William's anger by persuading Count Zulestein to marry a lady whom he had seduced. William was struck by his courage and refused to accept his resignation. Another often quoted instance of his moral force is the tale of Charles II.'s visit to Winchester in 1683 when Bishop Ken refused to allow the king's favourite, Nell Gwyn, the use of his house. Charles thought all the more highly of him, and in the following year, 1684, chose him to fill the vacant bishopric of Bath and Wells, declaring that no one should have the see but "the little black fellow that refused his lodging to poor Nelly." A few months later Charles summoned Bishop Ken to his death-bed, and the bishop persuaded him to send the Duchess of Portsmouth from the room and to send for the queen; pleaded with him without avail to receive the Communion, and finally pronounced his absolution.

Bishop Ken's influence extended to James II. in a marked



THOMAS KEN, BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.
From his portrait in Warden's Lodgings, New College, Oxford.

degree. After the Monmouth Rebellion he was sent, with the Bishop of Ely, to inform the duke of his death sentence; he spent the night before the execution with the duke in the Tower and accompanied him to the scaffold. He then went down to Wells and used his influence with the king to save many of Monmouth's supporters from their fate at the hands of Colonel Kirke and Judge Jeffreys. From his palace he went forth to the gaols and cells of the condemned peasants, of whom in Wells alone ninety-seven are said to have been hanged and 385 transported. He is said to have saved one hundred prisoners from death.

Bishop Ken's saintliness shed a lustre over the palace, and many traditions of the good bishop linger there. His favourite walk in the beautiful palace gardens is said to have been the terrace path, following the line of the wall between two corner bastions. Local tradition says that he composed there his well-known morning, evening and midnight hymns, which better authorities declare to have been written at Winchester. But doubtless many of his friends and pupils first learnt the hymns from his lips as they walked up and down in the gardens, and he must have often played them upon his organ in the palace. Ever since his youth he had been a lover of music, and when a young chaplain at Winchester, had possessed an organ of his own.

Within his palace he wrote many of his books: "The Practice of Divine Love," the "Directions for Prayer," and "Prayers for the use of all Resorting to the Baths at Bath," his "Pastoral Letter on the Observance of Lent," and a Letter to the clergy on behalf of the French Protestant refugees. Frugal in his personal habits, he was large-hearted and liberal, from the days of his academic life when he gave £100 as his parting gift to New College, to those of his

episcopate when the larger part of £4,000 was his contribution to a fund for the Huguenot refugees. He avoided ostentation, going on foot when others went in coaches. When he was at Wells on a Sunday he would have twelve poor men or women to dine with him in his palace, cheering them the while with discourse, generally mixed with some useful instruction, and when they had dined, the remainder was divided among them to be carried home to their families. The guests bore away too the memory of kindly and comforting words—the more to be remembered and valued as their host was a great man and a friend of the king. He combined a wide experience of the world with the homely virtues of a parish priest. When a beggar came to him he would examine whether he could say the Lord's Prayer or the Creed, and, finding much ignorance among the poor he started schools for the children of his diocese. But his work there and his devout life at Wells were interrupted by the passing of the House of Stuart.

One of the famous Seven Bishops who petitioned James II. to be excused from reading the Declaration of Indulgence he was arrested and sent to the Tower. Yet after the triumphant acquittal, and in spite of his support of the Revolution, he retained so much feeling of loyalty towards the "royal sufferer," as he called the fugitive king, that he refused to take the oath of allegiance to William of Orange, and accordingly forfeited his see. His decision to remain a "non-juror" was arrived at after many heart-searchings. More than a year was allowed to elapse between the time when he was legally deprived and the actual expulsion in 1691. The day on which Bishop Ken read from his throne in the cathedral his protest against his deprivation, was probably his last appearance there. It was followed soon afterwards by his departure

from the palace. His biographer, Dean Plumptre writes of "partings under that roof from his clergy, from the poor who had been his Sunday guests, from the boys whom he had catechized and confirmed." Now he went forth bereft of his life's work; his only fund for the future being £700, the proceeds of the sale of all his effects at the palace, his library excepted. His books were stored at Longleat, with those of Lord Weymouth, who placed his home at the bishop's disposal.

The palace was then empty for some months. It was hard to find a willing successor to Bishop Ken. The first candidate nominated in his place, Dr. William Beveridge declined the bishopric, being unwilling to take the title which Ken still used as his right. Richard Kidder accepted the appointment, and so strong was the local feeling against him in Wells, that when Bishop Kidder and his wife were killed in the palace by the fall of some chimneys during the terrible storm of 1703, popular superstition regarded the fatality as a judgment of Providence on the supplanter of Ken.

Queen Anne offered to restore him to the see. He refused the offer on the ground of his age and infirmity, and wrote to George Hooper to accept the see. He died in 1710 at Longleat House where Lord Weymouth had received him twenty years before. He was buried as he had previously given instructions "at sunrise, without any manner of pomp, in the churchyard of the parish nearest the place of my death"; and his tomb is to be seen beneath the east window of the parish church of Frome, and not in his cathedral city. One of the ten portraits of Ken is in the palace at Wells. In the north aisle of the cathedral a glass window was erected in honour of Bishop Ken, as a memorial to his biographer Dean Plumptre, who died in 1891. In the centre Ken is represented in full pontifical vestments; over his head is the

favourite superscription of his letters, "All glory be to God," and at his feet his rule of life, "*Et tu quaeris tibi grandia? Noli quaerere.*"

The years of Ken's episcopate are thrown into high relief by the century of spiritual indifference in high places which followed it. The bishop's palace at Wells ceased for several generations to be the important centre of the diocese. Three bishops in succession—Bishops Wynne, Willes, and Moss—lived little at Wells. Bishop Wynne's fine place, Soughton Hall, in Flintshire, was his favourite place of residence. No one of these bishops was buried in Wells Cathedral. The parish work in the diocese was neglected, rectors, like their superiors, being mostly non-resident. As late as 1789 the rector of Cheddar resided at Oxford, and his curate at Wells; and in nineteen adjoining parishes there does not appear to have been a single resident clergyman. Brutal amusements were practised, bulls were still baited in the villages and even on the Cathedral green. With the great Revivalist movement, under John Wesley, the bishops of the eighteenth century had naturally no sympathy; but in favour of Bishop Moss and of his successor, Richard Beadon, it must be said that they approved the work of the orthodox Revivalists, Hannah More and her sister, who had established Sunday schools throughout the Mendip district.

In the nineteenth century attention was again bestowed upon the palace. Bishop Beadon (1802—24) restored Bekynton's building so as to obtain three storeys in place of two. Bishop Law (1824—45), wishing to make the ruins in his grounds more picturesque, pulled down two walls of Burnell's Hall, and carefully repaired what he left standing. In the year 1846 Bishop Richard Bagot carried out considerable works of alteration and restoration with Benjamin

Ferrey for his architect. The marble shafts and bases were then inserted in the windows in the gallery, and the upper storey, the porch, and buttresses were added to the west front; the tower at the north and the turret at the south were new additions, and Bekynton's kitchen and offices were rebuilt.

At the close of the nineteenth century Lord Arthur Hervey (1869—94) converted the undercroft or ground floor of the palace, with its row of slender Purbeck columns down the centre, into a splendid dining-room, paving it and inserting a fire-place, and it is now used on state occasions as the dining-room of the palace. Of this bishop, his friend the Rev. Canon Church writes: "In a long episcopate of a quarter of a century he has added an honoured name to the roll of worthies who have sat in the seat of Ken and Ralph, of Bekynton and of Jocelin. Keenly sensible of the historic dignity of his palace, and of the beauty surrounding his noble heritage, as well as of the sacredness of his office, he delighted to make his palace the centre of spiritual and intellectual life, and to open his home and gardens for the enjoyment and recreation of all his friends and poorer neighbours, with a refined courtesy and sympathetic hospitality."

The palace, now seven centuries old, still stands in the green island below the Mendip Hills, where the Cathedral and Vicars' Close, the Lady chapel, and chapter-house form its beautiful setting. The bustle of commerce has not reached Wells. The wide greensward spread out before the west front, the deep pools of clear water reflecting the Cathedral, and, above all, the stately buildings themselves, have a benign dignity and peace which tell of a long life spent in quietness.

Index

A.

Aaron, the Jew of Lincoln, 163
Acton, Sir John de, 295
Acton Burnell, Salop, 290
Addington, Surrey, 4, 5
—— William de, 56
Aigueblanche, Peter de, Bishop of Hereford, 260—264
Alasco the Pole, 74
Albini, William de, 160
Alcock, John, Bishop of Ely, 35
Alcune, Bishop of Worcester, 15
Alderne, Captain, 282
Aldingbourne, Sussex, 18, 19
Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln 160—162
Alnwick, William, Bishop of Lincoln, 178—181
—— —— Bishop of Norwich, 218
Alselin, Geoffrey, 157
Amberley, Sussex, Castle of, 17, 18, 22
Amcotts, Mrs., 203
Andrews, Launcelot, Bishop of Winchester, 142
Anne Boleyn, Queen of Henry VIII., 70, 72
—— of Denmark, Queen of James I., 313—315
Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, 158
Arthur, son of Henry VII., 135
Arundel, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, 55
Arundel, Earl of. *See* Fitz-Alan.
Ascham, Roger, 106
Ashbury, Roger of, 294
Atlay, James, Bishop of Hereford, 286
Atterbury, Francis, Bishop of Rochester, 10
Atwater, William, Bishop of Lincoln, 182
Audley, Thomas, Lord, 70
Aylmer, John, Bishop of London, 105—111
Ayremynn or Ayermin, William de, Bishop of Norwich, 56, 214
Ayscough, William, Bishop of Salisbury, 25

B.

Bagot, Richard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 324
Baldock, Ralph, Bishop of London, 92
——— Robert de, Lord Chancellor, 270, 271
Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, 52
Banbury, Oxon., Castle of, 160
Bancroft, Edmund (for Richard), Archbp. of Canterbury, 78.
—— John, Bishop of Oxford, 48
Bardelby, Robert de, 56
Barlow, Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, 201

Barlow, William, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 310—312
—— —— Bishop-elect of Chichester, 75
Barons, William, Bishop of London, 95
Barrington, Shute, Bishop of Salisbury, 27
Barton, Hereford, 284
Basset, Fulk, Bishop of London, 92
Bath, Abbey, 289, 305, 313
—— Chapter, 287, 290
Bathurst, Henry, Bishop of Norwich, 249—250
Baumburgh, Sir Thomas de, 92
Baxter, Richard, 197, 199
Beadon, Richard, Bishop of Gloucester, 42
—— —— Bishop of Bath and Wells, 324
Beauchamp, Richard, Bishop of Salisbury, 25, 28
Beaudesert, Warwick, 12
Beaufort, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, 134
Becket, Thomas à, Archbishop of Canterbury, 5
—— —— Lord Chancellor, 56
Becon, Dr. John, 229
Bee, Captain, 194—196
Bekynton, Thomas of, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 299—304
Belvoir Castle, Leicester, 193
Benson, Edward, Archbishop of Canterbury, 205
—— Martin, Bishop of Gloucester, 42
Bentworth, Richard de, Bishop of London, 92
Berkeley, Gilbert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 313
Bernard, Prior of Champagne, 260—262
Bernardi, 18, 23
Berry, Major-General James, 197—199
Bertwulf, King of Mercia, 15
Beveridge, Dr. William, 323
Bexhill, Sussex, 18
Bigod, Roger, 209
Bilney, "Saint," 224
Bilson, Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, 141
Birch, Colonel John, 282—284
Birmingham, See, 3
Bishopstone, Sussex, 18
Bishop Stortford (Storteford), Herts., Castle of, 93
Bisse, Philip, Bishop of Hereford, 284
Blackwell, Captain John, 245
Bloett, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, 158
Blois, Henry of, Bishop of Winchester, 125—127
—— William of, Bishop of Lincoln, 167
Blomefield, Francis, 224
Blomfield, Charles, Bishop of London, 121
Blond, Richard, Bishop of Exeter, 28
Blythe, John, Bishop of Salisbury, 26
Bokyngham, John, Bishop of Lincoln, 176
Bolock, Hugh, Bailiff of Hereford, 275
Bond, Francis, "Gothic Architecture in England," 257
Bonner, Edmund, Bishop of London, 98—103
Booth, Charles, Bishop of Hereford, 277
—— William, Archbishop of York, 50
Bosbury, Hereford, 279
Bottesham, John, 177

Bowack, John, 117
Boxe, Robert atte, 295
Bradshawes, James, 229
Bransford, Wulston de, Bishop of Worcester, 15
Brantingham, Thomas de, Bishop of Exeter, 30
Braybrooke, Robert, Bishop of London, 93
Breauté, Fulk de, 54
Brereton, Sir William, 5
Breton, John le, Bishop of Hereford, 264
Brewer, William, Bishop of Exeter, 28
Bristol Abbey, 2
—— Palace, 43
—— See, 2, 42
Brittany, Duke of. *See* Montfort.
Britton, John, 218
Broill, Sussex, 18
Bromley, Kent, Palace, 10
—— —— St. Blaise's Well, 10
Bronescombe Walter, Bishop of Exeter, 29
Brooke, Lord. *See* Greville.
Brown, Captain, 81
Browne, Edward, Bishop of Winchester, 153
—— Thomas, Bishop of Norwich, 220
—— Sir Thomas, 231, 245
Broxholme, John, 193
Bruce, Giles de, Bishop of Hereford, 260
Bryan, Sir Francis, 225
Bubwith, Nicholas, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 297
Bucer, Martin, 74
Buckden, Hunts., 175, 189, 190, 202, 204
Buckfastleigh, Devon, Abbey of, 29
Buckingham, Duke of. *See* Villiers.
Buckle, Edmund, 287, 289, 300
Buckner, John, Bishop of Chichester 20
Buckstead, Essex, 97
Burges, Dr. Cornelius, 318
Burgh, Hubert de, 54
Burghersh, Bartholomew de, 56
—— Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, 175
Burghill, John, Bishop of Lichfield, 12
Burnell, Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 290
Burnet, Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, 28, 116
Burthred, King of Mercia, 14
Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, Abbot of, 211
Bush, Paul, Bishop of Bristol, 42
Butler, John, Bishop of Hereford, 285
Byrde, John, Bishop of Chester, 102

C.

Cædwallar, 22
Cakeham, 18
Calthorpe, Walter, Bishop of Norwich, 212
Cambrensis, Giraldus, 162, 167
Cambrigge, Henry, 15
Cantelupe, Thomas de, Bishop of Hereford, 264, 266
—— Walter de, Bishop of Worcester, 14, 264
—— William de, Baron Cantelupe, 264
Canterbury, Christchurch Priory, 52
—— Palace, 3, 4
—— —— Gate-house, 3
Capes, Canon, "Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral," 255
Capgrave, Monk of Lynn, 215
Carleton, Guy, Bishop of Bristol, 82

Carleton, Guy, Bishop of Chichester, 82
Carpenter, John, Bishop of Worcester, 14
Cary, Valentine, Bishop of Exeter, 32
Castello, Hadrian de, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 304
Catherine of Aragon, Queen of Henry VIII., 44
—— Howard, Queen of Henry VIII., 184—188
Cavendish, General Charles, 198
Cecil, Sir Robert, 112
—— — William, 103, 104, 226
Chambers, John, Abbot and Bishop of Peterboro', 44
Chandler, John, Bishop of Salisbury, 299
Chapone, Mrs., 151
Charles I., 79, 114, 143, 191, 280
—— II., 149, 246, 320
—— V., Emperor, 4
Charlton, Thomas de, 269
Chaundler, Thomas, 301
Chelsea Church, 70
Chesney, Robert de, Bishop of Lincoln, 162—164
Chester, Earl of. *See* Meschins.
Chichele, Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, 58
Chichester Palace, 16—22
—— See, 16
—— Siege of, 19
Chigwell, Joan de, 278
—— Hamo de, 278
—— Richard de, 278
Clare, Richard de, Earl of Gloucester, 173
Clark, John, 43
—— Thomas, 43
Clephan, Mr., "Remembrance of the Rev. C. Berry," 199
Clerk, John, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 306
Clifford, Roger de, 264
Colchester, St. Peter's Church, 98
Cold Waltham, Sussex, 18
Compton, Lord Alwyne, Bishop of Ely, 35
—— Henry, Bishop of London, 117
Conway, Edward, Lord, 80
Coole, John, 98
Cooper, Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, 140
Corbet, Miles, 244, 245
—— Richard, Bishop of Norwich, 236—238
Corbett, William son of Sir Roger, 276
Cornish, Thomas, Chancellor of Wells, 305
Cornwallis, Frederick, Bishop of Lichfield, 14
—— Sir Thomas, 230
Cotton, Henry, Bishop of Salisbury, 27
—— Mr., 226
Courtenay, Peter, Bishop of Exeter, 31
—— —— Bishop of Winchester, 135
Courtney, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 4
—— —— Bishop of London, 94
Coutance, Walter de, Bishop of Lincoln, 165
Coventry, Warwick, 12
Coverdale, Miles, Bishop of Exeter, 32, 75
Cox, Richard, Bishop of Ely, 35, 36
Crafford, Major-General, 281
Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, 5, 6, 63—65, 69, 72—74
Craswell Priory, Hereford, 262
Crediton, Devon, 28
Creighton, Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 319
Cromwell, Oliver, 35, 83, 115, 192
—— Thomas, Dean of Wells, 310

Cromwell, Thomas, Secretary, 70
Croydon Palace, 4, 5
—— Vicar of, 71
Croyland, Godfrey, Abbot of Peterboro', 47
Cuddesdon, Oxon, Estate in, 317
—— —— Palace, 49
—— —— Vicarage, 48
Culpepper, Thomas, 186—188
Curll, Walter, Bishop of Winchester, 143
—— —— Bishop of Bath and Wells, 316

D.

Dandy, Edward, 83
Daniel, John, 271
Darcy, John, 56
Darenth, Kent, 53
Davidson, Randall, Archbishop of Canterbury, 154
Day, Dr., Rector of St. Faith's, London, 191
Deane, Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, 6
Debiah, James, 203
Denham, Sir John, 145
Derham, Elias de, 288
Despenser, Henry, Bishop of Norwich, 215—217
—— Hugh, 270, 271
Devereux, Robert, Second Earl of Essex, 78
—— —— Third Earl of Essex, 240, 280
Dobell, Mr., 203
Dorchester, See, 156
Douglas, John, Bishop of Salisbury, 28
Dove, Thomas, Bishop of Peterboro', 45
Dowse, Alderman of Lincoln, 196
Drangewick, 18
Drokenford, John, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 295
Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester, 231
Duncomb, John, "History of Herefordshire," 285
Dunn, Walter, son of Sir Walter de, 268
Duppa, Brian, Bishop of Winchester, 148
Durandus, Bishop of Mende, 265, 278

E.

Eaton Bishop, Hereford, 284
Eccleshall, Staffs., 12, 14
Edington or Edendone, William of, Bishop of Winchester, 133
Edington, Wilts., Palace, 25
—— —— Bonhommes, Friars of, 25
Edward I., 3, 175, 290
—— III., 291
—— IV., 304
Egerton, Henry, Bishop of Hereford, 285
Eleanor, Countess of Leicester, sister of Henry III., 173
—— Queen of Edward I., 290
Elham, South, Suffolk, 217
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 5, 75, 78, 111, 112, 141, 230—233
Ely Castle, 34
—— Cathedral, 35
—— Palace, 34, 35
Emas, Alderman of Lincoln, 193, 196
Englefield, Sir Thomas, 277
Erasmus, 9, 61, 97
Erconwald, Bishop of London, 91
Erghum, Ralph, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 296
Erpingham, Sir Thomas, 216

Essex, Earls of. *See* Devereux.
Ethelbald, King of the West Saxons, 124
Ethelbert, King of East Anglia, 255
Eustace le Moine, 54
Evelyn, John, 117
Exeter Cathedral, 30, 33
—— Palace, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34
—— —— Chapel of, 28
—— —— Prison of, 30
—— See, 28
—— Broadgate in, 31
—— High Cross in, 31
—— Southernhay in, 32

F.

FAIRFAX, Sir Thomas, 46
Farmery, William, 202
Farnham Castle, 123, 124, 126, 129, 135, 137, 139, 141, 142, 148, 149, 152, 153
—— —— Siege of, 143—147, 150
—— Church, 135, 147
—— "Great Park" in, 124, 137
—— "Little Park" in, 124, 137, 151
—— St. George's Inn in, 136
—— Townspeople, 131, 134, 143, 145, 146, 152
—— Vernon House in, 148
Fastolf, Sir John, 222, 225
Feel, John, Bishop of Oxford, 49
Ferry, Benjamin, 325
Firth, Professor, 199
Fisher, John, Bishop of Rochester, 9, 70, 72
Fitton, Thomas, 236
Fitz-Alan, Edmund, Earl of Arundel, 271
Fitzjames, Richard, Bishop of London, 95
Fletcher, Richard, Bishop of Bristol, 43
Fletcher, Richard, Bishop of London, 111
Foliot, Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, 258
—— Hugh, Bishop of Hereford, 260, 273
—— Robert, Bishop of Hereford, 258
Ford, Mrs. Alice, 33
Fox, Charles James, 249
Foxe, John, Martyrologist, 226
—— Richard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 304
—— —— Bishop of Winchester, 135
Freake, Edmund, Bishop of Norwich, 227—233
—— Mrs., 229
Frome, John de, 261
Fulham Church, 92, 93, 97, 109, 116
—— Manor, 91, 93
—— Palace, 91, 93, 95, 105, 113, 114, 119, 120, 121
—— —— Chapel, 93, 102, 119, 121
—— —— Elms, 108
—— —— Gardens, 117, 118 121
—— —— Vines, 103
—— Roads, 90
—— Bishop's Walk in, 120
—— Bonner's Chair in, 119
—— Craven Cottage in, 96
—— Golden Lion Inn in, 99
—— Green Lane in, 115
—— Monk's Walk in, 101, 119
—— Palemeade in, 96
Fuller, Thomas, 236, 240
—— William, Bishop of Lincoln, 199—201

G.

GARDINER, Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, 137—139, 223
Gascoigne, Thomas, 219

Gasquet, Dr. F. A., "Last Abbot of Glastonbury," 306
Gates, Sir Henry, 311
—— — John, 311
Gauden, John, Bishop of Exeter, 33
Gaunter, John le, Bailiff of Hereford, 275
Gaywood, Norfolk, 221
Geoffrey, Bishop of Lincoln, 164
George III., 150
Gervays, John, Bishop of Winchester, 132
Giffard, Godfrey, Bishop of Worcester, 14
Glanville, Gilbert de, Bishop of Rochester, 7
Glastonbury, 287, 288, 308
—— Abbey, 307
—— Orewell Park, 312
—— Sharpham, 308
—— Tor Hill, 309
Gloucester, Abbey, 2, 39, 40, 42
—— Earls of. *See* Clare and Robert.
—— Robert of, 263
—— See, 2, 3, 39
Gloys, James, 221
Godelee, Dean of Wells, 295
Godwin, Francis, Bishop of Hereford, 279
—— —— Canon of Wells, 311
—— Thomas, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 313
—— —— Historian of Wells, 313
Goldwell, James, Bishop of Norwich, 221
Gooch, Sir Thomas, Bishop of Norwich, 247
Goodman, Dean of Wells, 311
Goodrich, Thomas, Bishop of Ely, 35
Goring, George, Earl of Norwich, 147, 192
Grandisson, John, Bishop of Exeter, 29
Gray, Walter de, Archbishop of York, 92
Greville, Sir, Fulke, 113
—— Robert, Lord Brooke, 13
Grey, Henry, Earl of Stamford, 280
—— Lady Jane, 106
Grindal, Edmund, Bishop of London, 103
—— —— Archbishop of York, 104
—— —— Archbishop of Canterbury, 77, 104
Grocyn, William, 61
Grosseteste, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, 171—174
Grozerd, Nicholas de, 276
Gullipher, Humfrey, Bailiff of Hereford, 275
Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, 6
Gunthorp, Dean of Wells, 305
Gurdon, Adam de, 132
Gurney, Joseph John, 250
Gwyn, Eleanor (Nell), 320
Gynwell, John, Bishop of Lincoln, 181

H.

Hacket, John, Bishop of Lichfield, 13, 190, 191, 195
Hackington, Kent, College of, 52
Haddington, Viscount of. *See* Ramsay.
Hadham, Herts., 93
Hakney, Middlesex, 92
Halifax, Samuel, Bishop of Gloucester, 42
Hall, Joseph, Bishop of Norwich, 240—245
Halling, Kent, 8
Hammersmith, Middlesex, 90
Hampden, Renn Dickson, Bishop of Hereford, 286
Hampton Bishop, Hereford, 284
Hankes, Thomas, 102

Hardy, Mathew, 83, 85
Hare, Francis, Bishop of Chichester, 20
Harewell, John, Bishop of Shrewsbury, 293
Harington or Harrington, Sir John, 102, 313
Harley, Edward, Earl of Oxford, 87
Harsall, Dean of Norwich, 239
Harsnet, Samuel, Bishop of Norwich, 234, 235
Hartlebury, Worcester, Castle, 14, 15
—— —— —— Chapel, 14
Harvey, Colonel Edmund, 114, 115
Hastings, John, Lord, 185
Hatton, Sir Christopher, 36
Havigal, Mr., 257
Hay, Nicholaa de la, 168
Haytor, Thomas, Bishop of Norwich, 248
Haywood, Staffordshire, 12
Heath, Judge, 19
Heathfield, Sussex, 18
Heigham, Norwich, 244
Helles, Kent, Chapel of, 53
Henchman, Humphrey, Bishop of London, 116
Heneage, Sir Thomas, 230
Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I., 114
Henry I., 159, 160
—— II., 123, 163
—— III., 34, 55, 170, 262
—— VI., 31, 93, 220
—— VII., 182, 305
—— VIII., 65, 73, 84, 135—137
Henshaw, Thomas, 101, 102
Hereford, Bishop's Fee, 272
—— Borough, 272, 275
—— Cathedral, 263
—— Friars Minor, 266
—— Palace, 255, 257, 259, 265, 277, 283, 284, 286
—— St. Catherine's Chapel, 261
Hereford, Palace, St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel, 261, 285
—— Prison, 275
—— Sieges of, 279—283
—— Bister's Gate in, 283
—— "Cocedale" in, 258
—— St. Ethelbert's Fair, 273
—— Pie Lane in, 273
—— St. Martin's Church in, 281
—— St. Owen's Gate in, 279, 281
Herring, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, 5
Hertford, Earl and Marquis of. *See* Seymour.
Hervey, Lord Arthur, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 325
Hethe, Hamo de, Bishop of Rochester, 8
Heton, Martin, Bishop of Ely, 35
Hoadley, Benjamin, Bishop of Winchester, 150
—— —— Bishop of Hereford, 285
Hodges, Thomas, 42
Hodgkin, John, Bishop of Bedford, 75
Holbeach, alias Raundes, Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, 188, 205
Holme Lacy, Hereford, 262
Honeywood, Dean of Lincoln, 200, 202
Hooker, Richard, 26
Hooper, George, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 323
—— John, Bishop of Gloucester, 41
Hopton, John, Bishop of Norwich, 226
—— Sir Ralph, 317
Horne, George, Bishop of Norwich, 248
—— Robert, Bishop of Winchester, 140
Horton, Thomas, Abbot of Gloucester, 39
Hotham, Captain, 193

Hotham, John, Bishop of Ely, 36
Howard, Lord Henry, 246
—— —— —— Duke of Norfolk, 247
—— —— Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, 226
Howarth, Captain, 282
Howland, Richard, Bishop of Peterboro', 44
Howley, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 5, 88
—— —— Bishop of London, 121
Hoxne, Suffolk, 221, 224
Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln, 165—167
Hulme, Norfolk, St. Benet's Abbey, 224, 225
Humphrey, Humfrey, Bishop of Hereford, 274
Hungerford, Sir Edward, 317
Huntingdon, Henry of, 158, 159
Hurd, Richard, Bishop of Worcester, 15
Hyde, Alexander, Bishop of Salisbury, 28

I.

Ilchester, Richard of, Bishop of Winchester, 127
Isabella, Queen of Edward II., 270

J.

James I., 78, 113
James, Roger, 309
Jewel, John, Bishop of Salisbury, 26, 27
Joan, Queen of Henry IV., 93
—— Widow of the Black Prince, 57
Jocelin, Bishop of Bath, 287—289
Joch, Son of Out, 157
John, King of England, 167
Johnson, John, 90
Jonson, Richard, 97
Juxon, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 5, 85, 116
—— —— Bishop of London, 114

K.

Kaye, John, Bishop of Lincoln, 205
Keene, Edmund, Bishop of Ely, 35
Kele, John, Prebendary of St. Mary, Crakepool, 177
Kemp, John, Archbishop of York, 50
—— —— Bishop of London, 94
Ken, Thomas, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 319—323
Keppel, Frederick, Bishop of Exeter, 34
Kett, Robert, 225
Kidder, Richard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 323
King, Edward, Bishop of Lincoln, 207
—— Henry, Bishop of Chichester, 19
—— Oliver, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 304
—— Robert, Abbot of Oseney, Bishop of Oxford, 47
Kirkeby, John, Bishop of Ely, 36
Kirton, Abbot of Peterboro', 47
Kitchell, Sir Gilbert de, 57
Knight, William, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 310

L.

Lacy, Edmund, Bishop of Exeter, 31
Lake, Arthur, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 315
Lambeth Church, 52, 53
—— Manor, 52, 53, 56, 70
—— Palace, 51, 53, 58, 60, 71, 73, 76, 77, 80, 83, 87, 88

Lambeth Palace Chapel, 53, 58, 74, 79, 81
—— —— Domestic regulations, 63—69
—— —— Library, 78, 81, 87
—— —— Lollard's or Water Tower, 51, 58, 72, 80, 82, 84, 88
—— —— Morton's Gateway, 84
—— Bridge, 73, 77
—— Dole, 67
—— St. Mary's Church, 60
—— Treaty of, 54
Lancherley, Somerset, 288
Laney, Benjamin, Bishop of Lincoln, 199
Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, 54
Langon, Peter, de, Prebend of Hereford, 261
Langton, Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, 53
—— Walter of, Bishop of Lichfield, 11, 12
Latimer, Hugh, Bishop of Worcester, 71
Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 5, 79—82
—— —— Bishop of Bath and Wells, 316
—— —— Bishop of London, 90, 114
Law, George, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 324
Lawder, Colonel Sir Richard, 280
Lawrence, Henry, 198
Legge, Colonel, 49
Leicester, Countess of. *See* Eleanor.
—— Earl of. *See* Dudley.
—— John of, 173
Leighton, Dr. Alexander, 82
Leland, John, 306
Lennox, Duke of. *See* Stuart.
Leslie, John, Bishop of Ross, 139
Lexington, Henry de, Bishop of Lincoln, 174
Leyton, Dr. Richard, 308
Lichfield Cathedral, 13
—— Mint Yard, 14
—— Palace, 11, 12, 13, 14
—— See, 11, 12
Lincoln Castle, 156, 160, 168, 171, 192, 193
—— Cathedral, 157, 161, 164, 165, 171, 172
—— Palace, 158, 163, 165, 170, 175, 178 — 182, 193, 196, 199, 200, 203, 206
—— —— Alnwick Tower, 178, 195, 197, 203, 204, 206
—— "Fair of," 169
—— Sieges of, 160, 168, 192, 194—196
—— Bailgate in, 156, 159
—— Bargate in, 169
—— Chequer Gate in, 185, 192
—— Eastgate in, 160, 161, 192
—— Newport Arch in, 155, 199
—— North Gate in, 192
—— Pottergate in, 200
—— St. Andrew's Church in, 163
—— St. Martin - at - Palace, Church of, 218
—— St. Martin's Plain in, 218, 225
—— St. Mary Magdalene's Church in, 157
—— St. Michael on the Mount, Church of, 159, 163
—— Sencil Dyke in, 168
—— "Steep, the," 185
—— Vicar's Court in, 174, 176 192, 194, 195
—— Winnowsty Lane in, 192
—— Witham Dyke in, 168
Lincoln, Earl of. *See* Romara, de.
Lind, Jenny, 251
Linsey, Alderman of Norwich, 243
Litester, John the, 215

Lloyd, William, Bishop of Norwich, 247
Llywdyn, Gruffydd ap, 256
London, Aldersgate Street, 119
—— "Bell, Le," Holborn, 36
—— Chepe, the, 29
—— Chichester Rents, 24
—— Ely Place, Holborn, 36—39
—— Fish Street, 260
—— —— —— Old, 277, 278
—— Lincoln's Inn, 23
—— "Lombardeshull," 278
—— St. Mary Mounthaw, 271, 277
—— St. Mary Somerset, 277
—— St. Paul's, 29
—— Savoy, 15
—— Soho Square, 16
—— Somerset House, 13, 16
—— Strand the, 12, 15
—— Temple Bar, 29
—— —— New, 15
—— Whitefriars, 16
Longchamp, William, 128
Longland, John, Bishop of Lincoln, 182—188
Lonsdale, John, Bishop of Lichfield, 14
Losinga, Herbert de, Bishop of Norwich, 209—211, 214
Louis, son of Philip Augustus, 54, 129
Lovelace, Richard, 82
Lowe, John, Bishop of Rochester, 9
—— Thomas, 112
Lucy, Godfrey de, Bishop of Winchester, 128
Ludham, Norfolk, 227, 228, 229
Lyhert, Walter, Bishop of Norwich, 215, 218, 219—221, 222
Lysons, Rev. Daniel, 118
Lytton, Lord Bulwer, "A Strange Story," 204, 207

M.

Maddocks, John, 109
Maidstone, Ralph, Bishop of Hereford, 260, 277
Mainwaring, Charles, 204, 207
Malmesbury, William of, 161
Manchester, Earl of. *See* Montague.
Mandeville, Geoffrey de, 92
Manners-Sutton, Charles, Archbishop of Canterbury, 5
Manners-Sutton, Charles, Bishop of Norwich, 249
Mapenore, Hugh de, Bishop of Hereford, 260
Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI., 219, 220
Marsh, Adam, 174
Marshall, William, Earl of Pembroke, 54, 168
Martin, Thomas, 248
Martyr, Peter, 74
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, 44
Mary Tudor, Queen of England, 139, 184
Mathew, Father, 251
Maud, Empress, Daughter of Henry I., 160
Mayfield, Sussex, 4
Melun, Robert de, Bishop of Hereford, 258
Memo, Dionysius, 136
Meschins, Ranulf, Earl of Chester, 158, 160, 161
Mews, Peter, Bishop of Winchester, 150
—— —— Bishop of Bath and Wells, 319
Michedeure, Thomas de, 271
Milfred, King of Mercia, 255
Moleynes, Adam de, Bishop of Rochester, 17
Monmouth, Duke of. *See* Scott.
Montague, Edward, Earl of Manchester, 193
—— James, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 313
—— Richard, Bishop of Norwich, 240
Montaigne or Monteigne, George, Bishop of London, 114

Montaigne or Monteigne, George, Bishop of Lincoln, 189
Montfort, John de, Duke of Brittany, 56
More, Sir Thomas, 10, 60, 70—72
Morley, George, Bishop of Winchester, 148
Morton, John, Bishop of Ely, Archbishop of Canterbury, 60
Moss, Charles, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 324
Moyle, Sir Thomas, 308
Musgrave, Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, 286

N.

Neile, Richard, Bishop of Winchester, 10, 143
—— —— Bishop of Durham, 316
—— —— Bishop of Lincoln, 190
Nelthorpe, Dr., 203
Netterton, William de, 15
Nettleham, Lincs., 175, 189
Nevill, Hugh de, 170
Neville, Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, 17, 23
Newark, Notts., Castle of, 160
Nix, Richard, Bishop of Norwich, 223
Norden, John, 141
Norfolk, Duke of. *See* Howard.
North, Brownlow, Bishop of Winchester, 151
Northampton, Marquis of. *See* Parr.
Northwode, Hugh de, Bishop of Ely, 34
Norwich Cathedral, 210, 212, 218, 222, 239
—— Charity, 214
—— Dominican Friars, 223
—— Palace, 210, 213, 217, 218, 220, 222, 224, 225, 232, 233—236, 244, 247, 252
Norwich Palace, St. Mary's Chapel in, 212, 214, 246
—— Priory, 219
—— St. George's Guild, 221—223
—— Walloons in, 226, 236
—— Bishop Alnwick's Gateway, 218, 225, 235
—— Bishop Salmon's Gateway, 214
—— Bishop's Bridge, 225
—— Bishop's Gate, 225, 246
—— Cowholm, 209
—— Erpingham Gate, 251
—— Green Yard, 232, 234, 239
—— Guildhall, 243
—— "Holmstrete," 225
—— Lollards' Pit, 218, 224
—— Mousehold Hill, 231
—— New Hall Yard, 240
—— St. Mary-in-the-Marsh, Church of, 252
—— St. Michael's Land *alias* Tombland, 209
—— St. Stephen's Gate, 231
—— Thorpe, 209
—— Wakering's Cloister, 236
—— Earl of. *See* Goring.

O.

Offa, King of the East Saxons, 92
—— King of Mercia, 255
Old Sarum, 24
Onslow, Sir Richard, 144
Orlton, Adam de, Bishop of Hereford, 269—271, 273, 278
—— —— Bishop of Winchester, 133
Osbalderton, Richard, Bishop of London, 119
Osbert, Sheriff of Lincoln, 158
—— son of Nigel, 55
Oseney, Oxon, Abbey of, 47
Osgodeby, Adam de, 56
Otford, Kent, Palace, 4, 5

Ottery St. Mary, Devon, College of, 30
Oxford, Earl of. *See* Harley.
—— Gloucester College, 47
—— See of, 47
—— Siege of, 46

P.

Paget, Sir William, 13
Parker, Mathew, Archbishop of Canterbury, 63, 64, 66, 69, 74—77, 85, 96
—— Samuel, 116
Parkhurst, John, Bishop of Norwich, 226, 228
Paris, Matthew, 288, 289
Parr, William, Marquis of Northampton, 225
Paston, John, 221
"Paston Letters, The," 220
Patrick, Simon, Bishop of Ely, 244
Paul, William, Bishop of Oxford, 49
Paulinus, 157
Pearce, Dr., 76
Peckham, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 55
Pelham, John, Bishop of Norwich, 252
Pembroke, Earl of. *See* Marshall.
Pepys, Samuel, 200
Pern, Dr., Dean of Ely, 108
Pert, Captain, 196
Peterboro' Cathedral, 44, 45
—— Palace, 44, 45, 46, 47
—— See, 44
Philippa, Queen to Edward III., 291
Philpotts, Henry, Bishop of Exeter, 34
Picot, son of Colsuen, 158
Piers, William, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 316, 319
Plumley, Samuel, 80
Plumptree, Dean, 323
Pole, Cardinal Reginald, Archbishop of Canterbury, 74
Pole, William de la, Duke of Suffolk, 219
Pollard, 308, 309
Poore, Richard, Bishop of Salisbury, 24
Popham, Sir Francis, 317
Porteus, Beilby, Bishop of London, 119
Pownall, Thomas, 203
Prescote, Simon, 31
Prestbury, 279

Q.

Quebec, Bishop of, 150

R.

Radulphus, Archbishop of Canterbury, 56
Raleigh, William, Bishop of Winchester, 130, 261
Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, 16
Ramsay, Sir John, Viscount of Haddington, 142
Ramsbury, Wilts, 26
Ramsey Abbey, 209
Ranulf, son of Erkomar Canon of Hereford, 258, 259
Raundes, Henry. *See* Holbeach.
Ravis, Bishop of Gloucester, 42
Rawley, Sheriff of Norwich, 242
Ray, Rev. John, 117
Reading, Simon de, 271
Rede, William, Bishop of Chichester, 17, 22
Remigius, Bishop of Dorchester, 156
Reppes, William. *See* Rugge.
Reynolds, Edward, Bishop of Norwich, 245
—— Richard, Bishop of Lincoln, 203
—— Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, 56

Rich, Robert, Lord, 107
—— Lady, 104
Richard II., 12
—— III., 31
Richard, Bishop of Hereford, 258
Richard's Castle, Hereford, 279
Ridley, Nicholas, Bishop of London, 99—101
Riseholme, Lincs., 205, 207
Robert, Earl of Gloucester, 161
—— son of William Rufus, 158
Robinson, Crabb, 250
—— John, Bishop of London, 118
Roches, Peter des, Bishop of Winchester, 128, 130, 168
Rochester Palace, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
—— —— Chapel, 8, 10
—— St. Andrew's Priory, 6, 7, 52, 53
Rochford, Jane, Lady, 186—188
Roe, Sir Thomas and Lady, 114
Roger, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 290
Romara, William de, Earl of Lincoln, 160
Roper, William, 70
—— Margaret, 71
Rossiter, Colonel, 193
Rugge, *alias* Reppes, William, Bishop of Norwich, 224, 235
Rupert, Prince, 280
Russell, Lord John, 309
Rygge, Dr. Robert, 58

S.

Sadington, Robert de, 56
St. Albans, See of, 3
St. Pol, Sir John de, 56, 92
Salisbury Castle, 24
—— Cathedral, 25, 27
—— Palace, 25, 26, 28
—— See, 24
Salmon, John, Bishop of Norwich, 213, 217, 221, 222
Sampson, Richard, Bishop of Chichester, 24
Sancroft, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 86
Sandale, John, Bishop of Winchester, 133
Sanderson, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, 199
Sandys, Colonel, 15
—— Edwin, Bishop of London, 104
—— —— Archbishop of York, 104
—— William, Baron, 137
Savaric, Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, 287
Savoy, Boniface of, Archbishop of Canterbury, 53
Sawtre, William, 216
Scambler, Edmund, Bishop of Norwich, 233
Scarning, Roger of, Bishop of Norwich, 212
Scory, John, Bishop of Hereford, 75, 277, 279
Scott, James, Duke of Monmouth, 246, 319, 321
—— Colonel Thomas, 83
Scrope, Sir Adrian, 200
Scudamore, Sir Barnabas, 280—282
Seffrid, Bishop of Chichester, 17
Selsey, Sussex, 16, 18
Seymour, Edward, Earl of Hertford, 13
—— —— Duke of Somerset, 16, 311
—— Sir Thomas, 65
—— William, Marquis of Hertford, 280, 317
Sharp, Dr., 117
Shaxton, Nicholas, Bishop of Salisbury, 224
Sheen (Shene) Surrey, 56, 135
Sheepshanks, John, Bishop of Norwich, 252
Sheldon, Gilbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, 86

Sheldon, Gilbert, Bishop of London, 116
Shelwick, Hereford, 284
Sherburne, Robert, Bishop of Chichester, 18, 21
Sherlocke, Thomas, Bishop of Salisbury, 28
—— —— Bishop of London, 119
Sherwood Forest, Notts., 170
Shrewsbury, Ralph of, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 291—296
Sigillo, Robert de, Bishop of London, 92
Sleaford, Lincs., Castle of, 160
Smith, William, Bishop of Lincoln, 204
Somerset, Duke of. *See* Seymour.
Soughton Hall, Flintshire, 324
Southwark, Surrey, St. Thomas' Hospital, 131
—— —— See, 3
—— —— Stews at, 133
Southwell, Notts., Palace, 50
—— —— See, 3
Sparrow, Anthony, Bishop of Norwich, 246, 247
Sprat, Thomas, Bishop of Rochester, 10
Squire, Doctor, 106
Stafford, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 5
—— —— Bishop of Bath and Wells, 297, 298, 303
Stamford, Earl of. *See* Grey, Henry.
Stanley, Arthur, Dean of Westminster, 216, 249, 251
—— Edward, Bishop of Norwich, 249, 251
Stapledon, Walter de, Bishop of Exeter, 29
Staverdale, Somerset, Canons of, 293
Stephen, King of England, 160—162
Stepney (Stebenheke) Middlesex, Church of, 92
Stigand, Bishop of Chichester, 16
Still, John, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 313
Stillingfleet, Edward, Bishop of Worcester, 15
Stillington, Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 304
Stokesley, John, Bishop of London, 73, 97
Stoughton, Mr., 147
Stow, Lincs., 156, 165, 177
Stratford, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 57
Straw, Jack, 57
Stuart, James, Duke of Lennox, 79
—— —— Duke of York, 246
Sudbury, Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury, 56, 57
—— —— Bishop of London, 94
Suffield, Walter of. *See* Calthorpe.
Suffolk, Duke of. *See* Pole, de la.
Sugwas, Hereford, 279, 284
Sulyard, William, 23
Summer, Charles, Bishop of Winchester, 152
Sussex, Augustus Frederick, Duke of, 250
Sutton, Oliver, Bishop of Lincoln, 174
Swinfield, Richard de, Bishop of Hereford, 265—268, 278
Swinfield, Richard de, "Roll of Household Expenses," (Camden Soc.), 266—268, 277
Swithun (Saint), Bishop of Winchester, 124

T.

Tait, Archibald, Bishop of London, 121
Tattershall Castle, Lincs., 194
Taylor, Captain Silas, 284

Temple Bruer, Lincs., 184
Tenison, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, 118
Terrick, Richard, Bishop of London, 119
Thetford, Norfolk, 223
Thirlby, Thomas, Bishop of Norwich, 223
Thomas, John, Bishop of Rochester, 10
—— —— Bishop of Winchester, 150
Thorne, John, 309
Thorold, Anthony, Bishop of Winchester, 153
Thynne, Sir Thomas, Lord Weymouth, 323
Ticehurst, Sussex, 18
Tideman de Winchcomb, Bishop of Worcester, 15
Tillotson, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 86
Toftes, Sheriff of Norwich, 243
Tomline, Sir George Pretyman, Bishop of Lincoln, 205
Tooley, Alderman of Norwich, 242
Totington, Alexander of, Bishop of Norwich, 217
Tours, John of, Bishop of Bath, 287
Towers, John, Bishop of Peterboro', 45
Trelawny, Sir Jonathan, Bishop of Winchester, 156
Trellick, John, Bishop of Hereford, 276
Trevenant, John, Bishop of Hereford, 273, 278
Trimnell, Charles, Bishop of Norwich, 247
—— —— Bishop of Winchester, 150
Trollope, Edward, Bishop of Nottingham, 50
Trottiscliffe (Trottesclive), Kent, Palace, 8
Truro, See of, 3
Tunstall, Cuthbert, Bishop of London, 96
Tupsley, Hereford, 284
Turbe, William, Bishop of Norwich, 211, 216
Turbeville, Thomas, 263
Turner, William, Dean of Wells, 99
Twickenham, Middlesex, 200
Twysden, Sir Roger, 82
Tyler, Wat, 57
Tylney, Catherine, 187
Tyshthal, Bishop of Hereford, 91

V.

Valence, Aymer de, Bishop of Winchester, 130
Valey, John, 98
Vanbrugh, Sir John, 118
Van Ling, 27
Vauxhall, Surrey, 55
Venables, Canon, "Lincolnshire Notes and Queries," 200
Vere, William de, Bishop of Hereford, 259
Veysey, John, Bishop of Exeter, 32
Victoria, Queen of England, 152
Villiers, George, Duke of Buckingham, 246
—— Lady Mary, 79

W.

Waddington, Edward, Bishop of Chichester, 20
Wake, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 5
Wakeman, John, Bishop of Gloucester, 39
Wakering, John, Bishop of Norwich, 217
Waller, Sir William, 19, 145—147, 280
Walsham, North, Norfolk, 215

Walsingham, Sir Francis, 230
Walter, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, 53, 56
Walton, Isaac, 149
Warbeck, Perkin, 305
Ward, Seth, Bishop of Exeter, 34
—— —— Bishop of Salisbury, 27
Warham, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 6, 56, 61—63
—— —— Bishop of London, 95
Watson, Sir William, 118
Waynflete, William of, Bishop of Winchester, 134
Webb, "Military Memoir of Colonel John Birch," 282
Wellesley, Arthur, Duke of Wellington, 152
Wells, Hugh of, Bishop of Lincoln, 168, 170, 288
Wells Cathedral, 287, 288, 289, 302, 318
—— Citizens, 294
—— Manor, 311, 319
—— Palace, 289, 290, 293, 296, 300, 306, 311, 312, 318, 324
—— Siege, 318
—— Barnwell House, 316
—— Bishop's Eye, 300
—— Browne's Gate, 314
—— St. Andrew's Well, 293, 300
—— St. Calixtus' Chapel, 303
—— Vicars' Close, 296, 300
Wendover, Richard de, 162, 168, 169
Westbury, Somerset, 311
Westfaling, Herbert, Bishop of Hereford, 279
Westminster Abbey, 2
Weston, Sir Henry, 105
Weymouth, Lord. *See* Thynne.
Whalley, Major-General, 198
Wharton, Henry, 86, 87
Wherwell, Hants., Benedictine Convent, 98
Whitbourne (Whitborn), Hereford, 279, 284
White, Francis, Bishop of Norwich, 234
—— William, 218
Whitgift, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 78
Whiting, Richard, Abbot of Glastonbury, 306—309
Wickham Bishops (Wickham), Essex, 93
Wilberforce, Samuel, Bishop of Winchester, 152
—— —— Bishop of Oxford, 49
Willes, Edward, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 324
—— John, 101
William II. (Rufus), 158, 209, 211
—— III., 203
—— called Godknave, Bailiff of Hereford, 275
—— Earl, 256
—— Frederick, Duke of Gloucester, 249
—— Saint, of Norwich, 212, 222
—— son of Haco, Sheriff of Lincoln, 160
Williams, John, Bishop of Lincoln, 189—191
—— J. G., "Lincolnshire Notes and Queries," 193, 195
Willis, Browne, 202, 285
Wilson, Dr., 71
Wilton, Wilts., 25
Winchcomb, Tideman de. *See* Tideman
Winchelsea, Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, 6, 67
Winchester, Wolvesey Palace in, 125
Windsor, Thomas, 15
Winnicliffe, Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, 191
Winterbourne, 43
Wither, George, 143—145
Wittering, West, Sussex, 18
Wodebourne, Sir John de, 57

Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 304
—— —— —— Bishop of Lincoln, 182
—— —— —— Bishop of Winchester, 136
Wood, Thomas, Bishop of Lichfield, 14
Woodford, James, Bishop of Ely, 35
Woodlock, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, 133
Wookey, Somerset, 289
Worcester, See, 14
Wordsworth, Christopher, Bishop of Lincoln, 205
—— William, 122
Wren, Christopher, 118
—— Matthew, Bishop of Ely, 37, 142
Wren, Matthew, Bishop of Norwich, 237, 238
Wright, Robert, 107
Wulfere, King of Mercia, 144
Wych, Richard, Bishop of Chichester 23
Wycliffe, John, 57, 58, 94
Wykeham, William of, Bishop of Winchester, 56, 58, 134
Wynne, John, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 324

Y.

York, Duke of. *See* Stuart.

Z.

Zouche, William, Lord de la, 270

CORRIGENDUM.

Page 78, line 3 from bottom. *For* "Edmund," *read* "Richard."

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